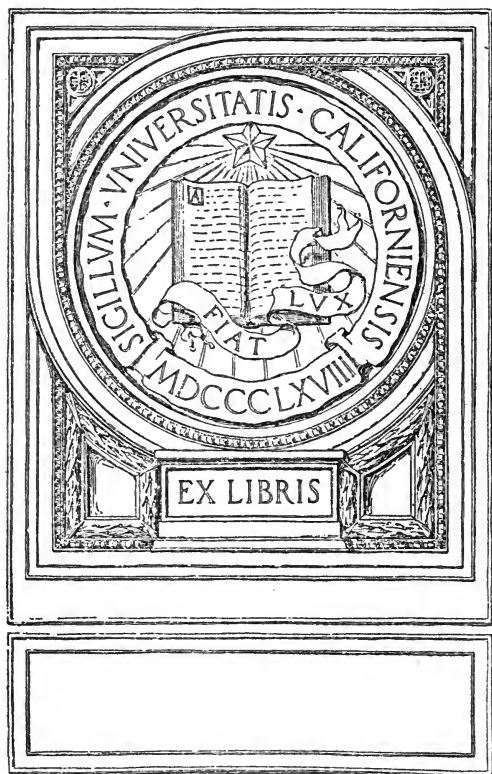


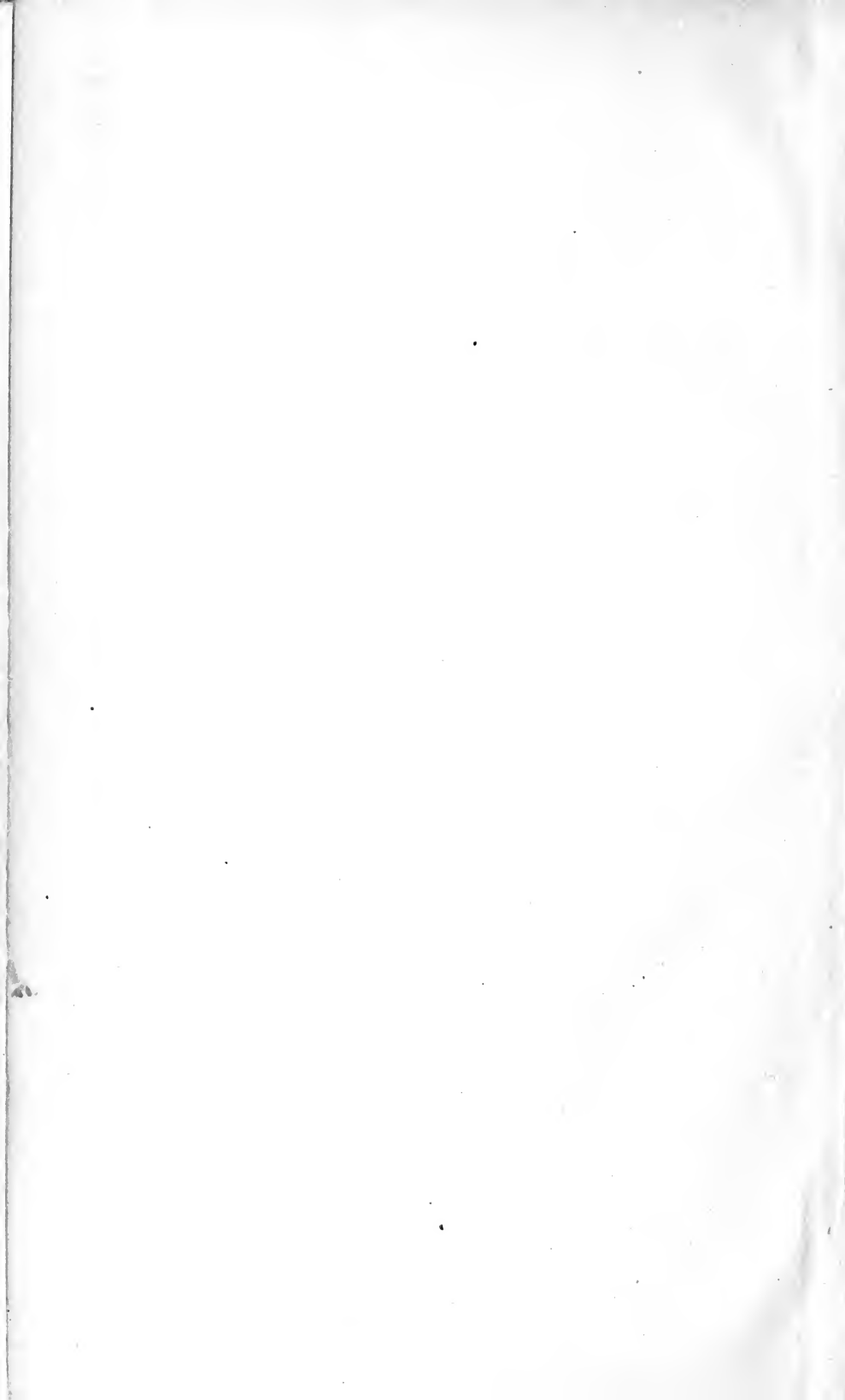
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MANUAL ON THE
TURANIANS
AND
PAN-TURANIANISM

*Compiled by the Geographical Section of the Naval Intelligence
Division, Naval Staff, Admiralty*

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NOTE

THE present Manual has been written with a view to supplying the information which is essential to a thorough understanding of the character and aims of 'Pan-Turanianism'.

The work is divided into six chapters. The first, after stating the source and meaning of the term 'Turanian', furnishes a general survey of the Turanian race, setting forth its origin, migrations, present distribution, numbers, characteristics, language, religion, and civilization.

The following chapters describe the five main branches of the Turanian people together with the subdivisions of each branch. Each chapter begins with a general characterization of the branch with which it deals. Then comes a detailed account of the tribes forming divisions of the main branch. Each is uniformly described with regard to its habitat, name, number, mode of life, characteristics, language, literature, religion, and history. This arrangement is intended to facilitate the comparison of the numerous tribes described in the Manual. Each section of a chapter concludes with a bibliographical note, while the many numbered notes

relating to points of detail are relegated to the end of the chapter itself. The subject-matter is as a rule presented in such a way as to leave the reader to draw his own conclusions. But sometimes, when occasion offers, as in the comparison of the Turks and Hungarians (pp. 77-8), observations bearing on Pan-Turanianism are made. Otherwise some general conclusions that may be drawn from the data supplied in this volume are reserved for the end of the last chapter. The accompanying map presents the area occupied by Turanian populations in five colours corresponding to the five main branches, while the subdivisions are indicated by coloured names only and without boundaries, which in all cases are somewhat indefinite. The ethnographical, in contrast with the political, frontiers are only approximate as indicated by the edges of the five colours. Thus within the confines of the yellow Mongolian area in the south-west some Tibetan, and in the extreme east some Chinese, elements are scattered.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

DURING the last few years there has taken place in Turkey the awakening of a national consciousness aiming at the purification of the Turkish language by the expulsion of all foreign elements, and the establishment of a civilization based entirely on old Turkish traditions. With this is combined a Pan-Turanian, that is to say, a Pan-Turkish movement, the goal of which is a powerful and independent union of all the Turks in the world, embracing a population of 50,000,000.¹ This movement involves a policy of Irredentism, which aspires not only to stimulate by moral and intellectual propaganda the feeling of racial community among kindred peoples, but under favourable circumstances to free their kinsmen politically from their Russian, British, Persian, and Afghan rulers. Turkish writers have begun to speak of their 'ideal fatherland, their Turania, the cradle of their nation and home of their race'. The poet Ziya Gökalp, called by a countryman 'the great apostle of Turanianism', celebrates Attila, Jenghiz, and Oghuz Khan as heroic figures that stand for the proud fame of his race, and describes the fatherland of the Turks not as Turkey or Turkestan, but as 'the broad eternal land of Turania'. While the primary object of the National Pan-Turanian ideal is the inclusion and union of all branches of the race within the Turkish Empire, it is an important secondary aim to give independence to all the followers of Mohammed, the united Turks being then the centre of gravity of the world of Islam. In view of this new situation it is of importance to examine the geographical, historical, ethnological, religious, and social facts bearing on the populations that may be affected by Pan-Turanian aspirations. It will then be easier to estimate the likelihood of these aspirations, if unchecked, being realized. Such is the purpose of the following pages.

Turania

The term 'Turanian', as designating a group of languages and the peoples speaking those languages, is derived from the Persian *Tūrān*, which is used by the Persian poet Firdusi in his *Shahname* or 'Book of Kings' (composed about A.D. 1000) as the name of the country beyond (i.e. north and east of) the Oxus (now Amu Darya) as opposed to *Irān* or Persia. Though the name *Tūrān* is found neither in the inscriptions of Darius I (521-435 B.C.) nor in Greek writers, it is of great antiquity. For its earliest form *Tūra* (with the adjective *tuīrya*, 'Turanian')² is not only repeatedly found in the ancient sacred book of the Zoroastrians, the *Avesta*, but also occurs in an Avestan hymn (*gātha*) which was undoubtedly composed by Zoroaster himself and in which the Turanian Fryāna and his descendants are commemorated as faithful followers of the prophet.³ The name *Tūra* also appears in the *Avesta* when it sets forth its primitive ethnographic division of the inhabitants of the earth, which is based solely on acquaintance with the immediate neighbours of ancient Irān. Just as in the Old Testament Noah has three sons, Shem, Ham, and Japhet, ancestors of the three races of the earth, so Thraetaona, the successor of Yima (the Avestan Noah) has three sons, Airya, Sairima, and *Tūra*, between whom the earth is apportioned, Airya⁴ receiving Irān,⁵ the centre, Sairima the West, and *Tūra* the East.⁶ The Aryans must have been in occupation of the Iranian plateau by 900 B.C., for we know that the Assyrian King Shalmaneser II came into conflict with one of the Iranian tribes, the Medes, in 836 B.C.

The evidence of the *Avesta* shows that by the time of Zoroaster⁷ the Iranians formed a settled people who practised agriculture, and among whom (as among the cognate Indo-Aryans) the cow, on which their industry chiefly depended, had acquired a peculiar sanctity. It is also clear from the *Avesta* that hostilities prevailed between the Iranians and the predatory nomad Turanians, who moreover differed from the former in religion. In these conflicts the Turanians were sometimes victorious.⁸ Attempts were also made to proselytize the Turanians, for the *Avesta* states that at least one Turanian tribe was converted to Zoroastrianism,⁹ and it

observes that there was hope even for the Turanian enemies of the Zoroastrian faith.¹⁰

From a selection of Zoroastrian texts compiled about A.D. 900,¹¹ it appears that boundary disputes must have prevailed between the two hostile peoples, as we read there:¹² 'For Irān . . . and for the sake of the pacification of a dispute which had arisen, Aûharmazd (Ormuz, Ahura Mazda) produced a great Ox, by whom the boundary of Irān next to Tûrān was intimated by pawing with his hoofs.'

In his *Shahname* Firdusi (c. A.D. 1000) still divides the world into three parts: one comprises the country of Roum¹³ and the west, the second Turkestan¹⁴ and China, and the third the country of the heroes of Irān.¹⁵ The boundary between Irān and Tûrān he defines thus: 'The whole part of the earth which is comprised between the Jihoun and the frontier of Roum, and which extends from there in a continuous line to China and Khotan, became with its cultivated and waste districts the empire of the people of Tûrān; the dominion of Zal¹⁶ was to end at the boundary where commenced the custom of tents,¹⁷ and which the Turks,¹⁷ on their part, were not to cross; it was thus that the thrones and crowns were divided.'¹⁸ Firdusi also preserves in a modified form the Avestan story of the division of the earth and the hostility between Iranians and Turanians. Here it is Firedhûn (=Thraetaona) who apportions the earth among his three sons, Eraj, Tûr, and Saleṃ. The murder of Eraj by Tûr leads to a blood feud between Irān and Tûrān.¹⁹ The poet also relates that Zoroaster at the outset of his missionary career, when he failed to win converts in Irān, won over parts of Tûrān to his new religion;²⁰ but that later a religious war with the Turks in Tûrān broke out as a result of a strenuous crusading policy.²¹ Cyrus the Great, the founder of the Persian Empire (who reigned from 558 to 528 B.C.), was, according to Greek sources, killed in battle against the Turanians in the north-east of the Empire; according to Herodotus (i. 204) he fell fighting against the Massagetae,²² who dwelt beyond the Oxus in what is now Bokhara, a part of ancient Tûrān. From the above evidence, derived from Persian sources, we may gather that by the ancient Tûrān, or Turania, was meant that central Asian territory which extends from the north of Persia and Afghanistan to the Aral Sea, and eastward to the borders of Chinese Turkestan, its

modern geographical equivalent being thus approximately represented by Russian Turkestan.²³

Origin of the term 'Turanian'

In the second half of the nineteenth century the term 'Turanian' came into use as a loose designation of all or nearly all languages of Asiatic origin that are neither Aryan nor Semitic. It appears to have been introduced in this sense by Bunsen,²⁴ who speaks of 'all the languages of Asia and Europe which are neither Semitic nor Arian'; adding, 'I ventured in 1847 to write all these under the name Turanian'.²⁵ Farrar more vaguely speaks of 'various sporadic families which some would call Turanian'.²⁶ Whitney protests against 'the old "Turanian" aggregation, which has for a generation been a stumbling-block in the way of science'. The term is still vaguely applied to a primary linguistic family of the eastern hemisphere which is more usually called 'Altaic'²⁷ or 'Ural-Altaic'.²⁸ The word has also been used in a racial sense with similar indefiniteness, as will appear from the following examples. Richardson in his *Persian Dictionary* (1771) treats 'Turanians' as synonymous with 'Tartars'. Hulme²⁹ (1861) defines the area of the 'Turanians' as Mongolia and Manchuria. Max Müller in 1861 writes:³⁰ 'The name Turanian is used in opposition to Aryan and is applied to the nomadic races of Asia as opposed to the agricultural Aryan races.' Finally, it is to be inferred that Sir James Frazer³¹ (1913) employs the name as equivalent to 'Ural-Altaic' when he says: 'The Magyars belong to the great Turanian family of mankind.'

General distribution of the Turanians

Now of the various divisions of the ethnic family, which we here propose to call Turanian in the definite sense of Ural-Altaic,³² a part of only one, the Turks, occupies the ancient Tūrān, and there is evidence to show that the cradle of the family is to be sought elsewhere.³³ At the present day we find the Turanians occupying a broad belt of territory extending across Asia from the Eastern Mediterranean to the Sea of Japan, and reaching in the north the coast of the Arctic Ocean. Two of their main divisions have in their migrations overflowed into Europe; one in the north as far westward as

the Baltic Sea and the Atlantic Ocean, and in the south as far as Budapest; the other in the south-east has overrun a considerable part of the Balkans.

Their Common Characteristics.

The Turanians have several common characteristics proving that they constitute an ethnological unit. Firstly, they all speak the same type of language as contrasted with their neighbours, the Aryans and the Semites in the West and South-West, and the Chinese in the East. Secondly, they have a distinctive physical type, though this has, in some of the subdivisions, been almost or altogether obliterated by absorption in other racial types with which they have come in contact or by which they have been surrounded. Thirdly, their original religion was Shamanism, which still survives in their northern and north-eastern branches and which has left traces in the rest, though the latter have adopted the religions of the superior civilizations influencing them: Buddhism in Eastern Asia, Mohammedanism in Central and Western Asia, Christianity in Europe. Fourthly, in their original home, the steppes of Central Asia, they were nomads, a manner of life imposed on them by the nature of the country which they inhabited. This characteristic survives to a greater or lesser extent in all the main divisions; and even in those branches which have adopted a settled life it is known to have existed in former times and is still recognizable in certain traces which it has left behind.

Turanian Linguistic Unity

As contrasted with the highly inflexional Indo-European and Semitic linguistic families on the one hand, and the monosyllabic Chinese on the other, the Turanian languages are typical examples of the agglutinative form of speech. Here unchangeable roots³⁴ (never used alone) are combined with suffixes, by means of what is called progressive vowel harmony, in such a way that the vowels of the endings are assimilated to that of the root. Thus the infinitive element *mak*, which appears in Osmanli Turkish *yaz-mak*, 'to write', becomes *mek* in *sev-mek* 'to love'. Other features of Turanian speech are that there are no prepositions, but only postpositions, and that two consonants never begin or end a word. The close

linguistic relationship of the Turanian peoples was first proved by Castrén³⁵ (1813-53), the Finnish ethnologist and philologist. He drew the essential outlines of their kinship, though research has not yet gone sufficiently into detail to settle various minor questions of relationship.

Five Main Branches

Castrén set up five main branches of the Turanian family of speech: the Finnic, the Samoyedic, the Tungusic, the Mongolic, and the Turkic. The results of recent research indicate that these five branches form two main divisions. One of them embraces the Finno-Ugrian and the Samoyedic, which agree not only in having reached the highest development of the agglutinative system,³⁶ but in sharing a striking similarity of vocabulary; moreover, the names given to themselves by these two groups are almost identical. The other division embraces the Tunguses, the Mongols, and the Turks; among these the Turkic and Mongolic branches are more intimately related. The affinity of these five branches, as descended from a single parent speech, is similar to that of the eight main branches³⁷ of the Indo-European family, but is less intimate:³⁸ thus Lapp and Manchu are further apart than English and Sanskrit.

Though it is well known that identity or kinship of language is no proof of the ethnic identity or kinship of the people that speak it,³⁹ there can be no doubt that the proto-Turanians, as shown by the physical and other characteristics of their present-day descendants, were a single race which in prehistoric times dwelt around the Altai⁴⁰ mountain range, which is still exclusively inhabited by Turanian peoples, and which can be shown to have been the original home of even the most remote branches of the Turanian family.

The Successive Migrations of the Turanians

The combined evidence of their language, of historical data, and of their present habitat indicates that the Finnic branch separated from the parent stock much earlier than any of the others, migrating to the north and west in prehistoric times. Again, the Tunguses must have completed their migration eastward while the Turkic and Mongol tribes were still dwelling side by side in the Altai steppes.

The Mongolians, on the whole the most typical members of the Turanian family, were the last to sever the common connexion, spreading southwards and eastwards over a territory contiguous with their old home on the Altai range.

With the exception of one Turkish tribe (the Osmanlis) and one section of the Finnic branch (the Hungarians), the Turanians have nowhere developed sufficient political aptitude to establish independent states of any permanence; and even in the two exceptional cases of the Turkish Empire and the Kingdom of Hungary, comparative success has been due to so large an infusion of European blood that the physical characteristics of the Turanian race have been almost entirely obliterated in the Osmanli Turks and the Hungarian people. Otherwise the Turanians, distributed, though very sparsely, over a vast territory, are at the present day subject to foreign rule—the Samoyeds, Finns, Tunguses, and Turco-Tatars⁴¹ in the Russian, and the Mongols in the Chinese Republic.

Total Turanian Population

The aggregate number of Turanians, as far as can be estimated from the most recent information,⁴² is about 48,000,000, of whom about four millions more live in Asia than in Europe. According to the latest authority, the figures in round numbers for Europe are: Magyars, 10,000,000; Finns and Samoyeds, 6,000,000; Turks, 6,000,000; total, 22,000,000. They form very nearly $5\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of the population of the whole of Europe, and nearly 8 per cent. of the inhabitants of European Russia.⁴³ In Asia there are about 115,000 Finns, Samoyeds, and Tunguses, all in Asiatic Russia; about 6,000,000 Manchus, Mongols, and Turks under Chinese rule; 8,200,000 Turks in Asiatic Russia;⁴⁴ about 3,500,000 in Persia and Afghanistan; and about 8,000,000 Osmanli Turks⁴⁵ in Asia Minor; making a total of 26,000,000 in Asia.⁴⁶

Physical Characteristics of the Turanians

The normal Turanian is middle-sized and of muscular build. He has a broad flat face, with small slanting eyes, high cheekbones, broad flat nose, thick lips, and low forehead. His complexion is yellowish brown, his hair straight and jet black, and his beard scanty. There has been a considerable intermixture among the Turanians themselves, especially between

Samoyed, Finnish, and Turkish tribes; also between Turkish and Mongol tribes, in the formation of the hordes with which various conquerors invaded the west. It was only on their western confines that they mingled to any extent with alien peoples, especially Slavs. Here many Finnish tribes have been strongly influenced or have even been absorbed by the surrounding Russian population; some peoples have preserved their language, though they have lost most of their physical Turanian characteristics, as the Hungarians and the Osmanli Turks; while others have lost both their language and their physical type, as the Volga Bulgars, whose name alone has survived in the Bulgarians of to-day. Only those sections of the Turanians that have come into close contact with the Aryans of Europe have been able to rise from their primitive civilization to a comparatively advanced state of culture, that is, the Finns in the narrow sense, the Hungarians, and the Osmanli Turks.

Original Religion of the Turanians

The primitive religion which was peculiar to the Turanians generally goes by the name of Shamanism, so called because its distinctive feature is the agency of the Shaman,⁴⁷ or wizard priest, whose intervention is required to influence the supernatural powers. It is a religion of witchcraft, in which it is the function of the Shaman to master all that in nature is hostile to man, to curb the elements, to conjure spirits, to produce health or disease, fortune or misfortune. The Shaman thus represents a primitive combination of priest and physician. Though he operates mainly against demons, he also believes in higher gods, on whom he calls by means of prayer and sacrifices to assist him in attaining his ends. Ancestor worship is, moreover, a characteristic feature of Shamanism. Its adherents believe in the close connexion between men now living and their long deceased forefathers. This belief resulted not only in uninterrupted worship of ancestors, but in the conviction, leading to hereditary Shamanism, that only he who was able to be in continuous touch with his ancestors was qualified to act as a Shaman. The drum is an important instrument in the rites of the Shaman. It is by means of this that he can summon spirits, through the power of his ancestors, and compel them to give active help. The methods of

his religion are those of magic, and are mainly concerned with counteracting the attacks of hostile lower spirits. It is owing to this predominant aspect of his ritual, in which the Shaman endeavours to establish good relations with the powers of darkness, that the Russians regard the Shamanism of the present day as a religion of the devil.⁴⁸

Among the Turkish peoples the Shaman is called *Kam*. He directs prayers, thanksgivings, and the sacrifice, conjures spirits, purifies the house from the souls of the dead, besides being soothsayer, weather-prophet, and physician all in one. He appears only when summoned by the master of the house in cases of danger, illness, death, and cattle disease. He begins with a short conjuration, in which he inquires of his ancestors the cause of the infliction. On ascertaining the cause, he communicates it and states what sacrifice is necessary, to what god it is to be offered, and in what it is to consist. There is evidence that even the ancient form of Turanian religion was not concerned merely with witchcraft. Thus, early Chinese and Christian writers state that the contemporary Turks not only paid reverence to natural phenomena, such as sun and moon, fire, air, earth, water, as well as to the spirits of ancestors, but that they also worshipped a deity whom they regarded as the creator of the world and to whom they offered animal sacrifices. Mediaeval writers give a similar account of the religion of the Mongols. So at the present day the Tunguses worship a supreme being and various natural phenomena, besides praying to images and fetishes.

In all the Asiatic branches of the Turanian family Shamanism is still found. But it is only general among the Tunguses, all the tribes of whom (except the Manchus) are devoted Shamanists. Among the Mongols, the Buryats on Lake Baikal are the only tribe in which Shamanism is still prevalent. Among the Turks, Shamanism survives only in the tribes that remained behind in the fertile valleys of the Altai range. Here it is being encroached upon by Buddhism from the east and by Christianity from the north and west. From the rest of the Turkish peoples Shamanism has been extirpated by Islam; nevertheless there are clear traces of the old religion among single tribes of Turkish nomads, such as the Kazak-Kirghiz. That Shamanism was formerly the religion of all Turkish peoples is clear from the prevalence among them of

the Turkish name *Kam* for *Shaman*; and in the oldest document of Turkish literature, the Uigur *Kudatku Bilik* (A.D. 1070), the word *Kam* twice occurs in the sense of 'sooth-sayer'. The Samoyeds are still largely Shamanists, their religious beliefs being much the same as those of the Tunguses. On the other hand, the Hungarians and Finns adopted Christianity many centuries ago. But those Finnish peoples that still retain some memory of their former paganism show traces of beliefs like those of the rest of the Turanians.

Turanian Civilization

When the Turanians first appeared on the stage of history their civilization was of a very primitive type, which they have preserved on much the same level, with the few exceptions caused by European contact, down to the present time. While the Chinese, Egyptians, Babylonians, Assyrians, Indians, Persians, Greeks, and Romans cultivated the earth and built cities in remote antiquity, the Turanians were nomads, and they have remained so to this day except where brought to a standstill by the dam which the European nations opposed to them in the west. Since the time of Zoroaster, when they first became known, till now, they have retained unchanged the patriarchal system of government without advancing to any higher stage of political organization. Their nomad habits facilitated the formation of those hordes which at successive periods poured into and devastated eastern Europe. Their unsettled habits have, since the adoption of Islam by the Turkic branch, made them for centuries the main cause of unrest in the history of the world. The struggle between the Aryan and the Turanian has thus been going on for nearly 3,000 years, from the age of Zoroaster down to the present day.

The chief reason of the persistence of the nomadic civilization of the Turanians appears to be the fact that the cultivable soil of the ancient world had already been taken possession of by the Chinese, the Aryans, and the Semites, while the Proto-Turanians were still occupying their original homes around the Altai mountains. They were consequently compelled to continue wandering in barren steppes to maintain themselves, and the struggle for existence naturally brought them into predatory conflict with the settled and more prosperous neighbouring peoples. The immemorial nomad habit has in the

course of thousands of years become so ingrained in their nature that it appears to be the chief means by which they preserve any sense of nationality, for they lack the unifying bonds of political organization. Hence when they once, by contact with a higher civilization, take to life in fixed abodes, they rapidly lose their racial identity by absorption in the population of their more cultured neighbours.

One of the consequences of their migratory life, as affecting the Turanians themselves, is the perpetual feuds, chiefly concerning boundaries, which have from time immemorial prevailed among their tribes, and which have largely fostered the fighting spirit among them. Another effect has been the universal practice of exogamy in those Turanian tribes which have adhered to the nomadic manner of life. For as marriage between blood relations, as represented by the clan, are avoided among them, brides are sought in other clans or tribes of the same people, the members of which are no longer regarded as akin.

After this general survey of the Turanians, we can proceed to examine their main divisions and subdivisions in detail. It would seem most suitable to treat the five branches in order of geographical contiguity—Finno-Ugrians, Samoyeds, Tunguses, Mongols, and Turks—beginning with the Finns who came into contact with European peoples in very early times, and ending with the Turks, whose invasions of Europe during the Middle Ages threatened to involve Western civilization in destruction, whose conquest of the Balkans has for centuries been a cause of war and political unrest, and whose present ambitions may continue to be a source of danger to the peace of the world in days to come.

NOTES

¹ This figure exceeds the total of all the Turanians in the world, which is about 48,000,000. The total number of the Turks is about 26,000,000. Cp. pp. 17 and 116.

² See Bartholomae, *Altiranisches Wörterbuch*, Strassburg, 1904 (column 656).

³ Mills, *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. xxxi, pp. 133 and 141 (Yasna, 46, 62).

⁴ That is, the 'Aryan'.

⁵ In the *Avesta* called *Airyana*, 'the land of the Aryan', of which *Eran* is the Middle Persian, and *Iran* the modern Persian form.

⁶ See Darmesteter, Translation of the *Avesta*, *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. iv, p. lix.

⁷ It is known that Darius I was an ardent Zoroastrian, and in an inscription of the Assyrian king Sargon dated 714 B.C. occur Zoroastrian names in a list of Median princes tributary to him. The prophet could therefore hardly have flourished later than about 800 B.C.

⁸ See *Sacred Books*, vol. xxiii, pp. 67, 71, 189, 280.

⁹ See note 3.

¹⁰ *Op. cit.*, vol. xxxi, p. 133.

¹¹ Translated in *Sacred Books*, vols. v, xxxvii, xlii.

¹² Vol. xlvii, p. 135.

¹³ That is, the Empire of Rome.

¹⁴ Here we see that Turkestan is equivalent to Tūrān.

¹⁵ See Muhl, *Shahname*, i, p. 105.

¹⁶ A mythical Iranian hero.

¹⁷ This indicates that the Turanians were both nomads and Turks.

¹⁸ Muhl, *op. cit.*, i, pp. 346, 377.

¹⁹ Cp. *Grundriss der iranischen Philologie*, vol. ii, p. 166.

²⁰ *Op. cit.*, pp. 166, 624.

²¹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 166, 625.

²² *Op. cit.*, p. 421.

²³ In the Atlas of Asia accompanying Ritter's *Erdkunde*, sheet 5 of Part 3 (1852), this is entitled 'Turan or Turkistan'.

²⁴ *Christianity*, vi, 65 (1854).

²⁵ Similarly Farrar, *Origin of Language*, 199 (1860).

²⁶ *Chapters on Language*, 29.

²⁷ This term was first introduced by the famous Finnish scholar Castrén.

²⁸ The usual term now used.

²⁹ Translation of Moquin-Tandon, *Medical Zoology*, p. 32.

³⁰ *Science of Language*, i, 276.

³¹ *Golden Bough*, I. iv. 179.

³² This name has been given to the Turanian family because the Urals have been, and still are, inhabited by various tribes of two of their main divisions (the Finno-Ugrians and the Samoyeds), while the Altai range was, and still is, the home of tribes belonging to two of the other three (Turks and Mongols).

³³ The Altai mountains; see pp. 16 and 23, note 40.

³⁴ In contrast with the inflexional languages, in which the root is so intimately fused with suffix or ending that it often becomes quite unrecognizable.

³⁵ See his *Ethnologische Vorlesungen über die altaischen Völker*, translated from the Swedish in 1857. Cp. also H. Winkler, *Uralaltaische Völker*, 1884, i, p. 54.

³⁶ Though they have not quite reached the stage of true inflexion.

³⁷ Indo-Aryan, Persian, Armenian, Slavonic, Greek, Latin, Germanic, Celtic.

³⁸ This is due to the fact that the Turanian languages separated from the parent stem at an early period of its growth, when the law of progressive vowel harmony did not as yet exist, having been independently developed in the different branches from the natural tendency to merge root and suffix in one harmonic whole; whereas the parent Indo-European speech had already reached the stage of decay in its inflexional system, thus leaving less latitude for linguistic divergence in the daughter languages.

³⁹ Thus the negroes of the United States speak English only.

⁴⁰ The name *Altai* is derived from the Mongolian word *alta in-ula*, 'gold mountain'.

⁴¹ The name Tatar is loosely used to designate Turkic tribes. Occurring frequently in Chinese history, it was originally used to denote a part of the Mongolian race; it was then transferred to various Turkish peoples; in Russia it was applied to all the Turkish tribes settled in that country, and still continues to be used there in that exclusive sense. With the French (to whom the spelling 'Tartar' is due), 'Tartare' is a collective term for Turks, Mongols, and Tunguses, the Finns also coming gradually to be included.

⁴² See Schäfer, *Karte der Länder und Völker Europas, Volkstum und Staatenbildung*, 4th ed., Berlin, 1916. With these figures Scobel's data, in the two volumes accompanying Andree's Atlas, 1909-10, practically agree.

⁴³ According to the two volumes accompanying the Atlas of Asiatic Russia, published at Petrograd in 1914. These will always be quoted below as *Asiatic Russia*.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*; cp. p. 116.

⁴⁵ The total population of Turkey in Asia is given by Schäfer (1916) as 19,710,000, which number includes Syrians, Arabs, Kurds, Circassians, Greeks, Armenians, and others besides Turks, the respective numbers of whom cannot be stated. Of this total a probable approximation to the number of the Turks is 8,000,000; with the addition of 1,891,000 in Europe, the total number of Osmanli Turks is under 10,000,000. Cp. p. 116.

⁴⁶ The totals for the whole Turanian population work out as follows:—Turks, 26,000,000 (p. 116); the remaining branches of the Turanians, 22,000,000 [Finns, 6,827,755; Ugrians, 10,075,591; Samoyeds, 22,000; Tunguses, 75,000; Manchus, 1,000,000; Mongols, 4,042,101 (including 600,000 Hazaras in Afghanistan)]. Cp. chap. v, note 18 (p. 114).

⁴⁷ Derived from the Tungusian *Shamān*, which is probably the Sanskrit *Śramaṇa*, Pāli *Samana*, 'monk' or 'mendicant', a term introduced into China by Indian missionaries, who carried Buddhism thither from North India by way of Central Asia.

⁴⁸ On Shamanism, see especially Radloff, *Aus Sibirien*, vol. ii, pp. 1-67; cp. also Castrén's *Vorlesungen über die finnische Mythologie* (Schiefner's German translation from the Swedish), Introduction, pp. 1 ff., St. Petersburg, 1853.

CHAPTER II

THE FINNO-UGRIAN DIVISION

Habitat. This branch of the Turanian family consists of the two principal groups of the Finns and the Ugrians, the former being represented by the Finns proper, the latter mainly by the Hungarians. The Finnish group inhabits partly the region lying between the eastern Baltic, the Arctic Ocean, and the White Sea, and partly the districts of eastern Russia situated near the middle course of the Volga. The Ugrians, so called from Ugra, the old name of the country on both sides of the Ural mountains, where they all dwelt in former times and where two branches of them still remain, but whence the Hungarians long ago migrated till they finally settled in their present country on the Middle Danube. The Finnish group appear in the course of their migration to have reached their present habitat by the first century of our era, while the Hungarians took possession of the territory which they now occupy at the end of the ninth century.

Number. The total Finno-Ugrian population amounts to about 16,000,000, almost entirely located in Europe. Excepting some 25,000 in north-west Siberia, the Ugrian population is represented by the Hungarians with nearly 10,000,000. The Finnish branch is, with the exception of about 60,000, almost equally divided between Norway and Sweden, otherwise confined to the Russian Empire, with a total of rather over 6,000,000. Some of the Finno-Ugrian tribes still retain their nomad habits, though they generally appear to avoid open steppes, preferring wooded country, especially in the vicinity of rivers and lakes.

Language. The speech of the Finno-Ugrians forms a homogeneous linguistic unit, undivided by any striking differences. It is distinguished from the other divisions of the Turanian family both in grammar and vocabulary. The tendency to form compounds is very marked in Finnish and Hungarian, as well as in some of the other languages of this group. Vowel harmony is completely observed in Finnish and Hungarian,

though in the other languages it has been either imperfectly developed or has been lost under Russian influences.

Some of the minor tribes have lost their native dialects, having exchanged them for those of the surrounding alien population.

Finno-Ugrian Characteristics and Civilization

Characteristics. In physique the Finno-Ugrians are for the most part strongly built and of middle height, with a tendency to be short, squat, and brachycephalic. Their complexion is greyish or olive-coloured; their eyes are grey or blue, their hair light, and their beard scanty. They are as a rule wanting in energy and alertness both of mind and body. They are slow and conservative, inclined to be suspicious and vindictive, taciturn and melancholy. With the exception of the Hungarians, they have hardly ever displayed warlike qualities. The favourable side of their character includes patience, perseverance and industry, faithfulness, and honesty. When they get over their natural distrust of strangers, they are found to be friendly and hospitable.

Civilization. Various stages of progress are apparent among the Finno-Ugrians. Some, as the Finns and the Hungarians, have, at least in the towns, adopted the ordinary civilization of Europe. These two are the only Turanian peoples who, while following in the steps of European culture, have preserved their individual nationality. Other tribes have adopted agricultural pursuits. These are mostly insignificant populations living scattered in Russia, which will doubtless in course of time be absorbed in the surrounding Slavonic population. The lowest stage is represented by the wilder tribes, such as the Ostyaks, Voguls, and Lapps, who are still nomads, though as a rule they no longer frequent open steppes. They are generally keen hunters. They are mostly divided into a number of small clans which are exogamous. Women among them occupy a very inferior position, being treated as servants, and not being allowed to take part in their heathen religious ceremonies. There is still found among them the most primitive form of house, which consists of converging poles covered with skins or sods so as to form a screen round a central fire. Their winter dwellings are partly underground. They use long snow-shoes in winter, and largely employ boats in summer.

The evidence of the higher numerals, which vary in the different languages and are sometimes evidently borrowed, indicates that their original system of counting did not extend beyond seven; and even now these tribes show little aptitude for calculation or trade. Those tribes which have not been subject to direct European influence have even at the present day not progressed beyond the simplest form of patriarchal government. The nomadic tribes are now partially beginning to settle down.

Religion. With the exception of a few outlying tribes, the Finno-Ugrians have adopted Christianity; but several thousands of the Ugrian Ostyaks and Voguls and the east Finnish Cheremisses are still unbaptized. Many old pagan beliefs also survive among the nominal Christians, besides being found in poetry such as the *Kalevala*. The deities here are chiefly spirits representing phenomena of nature. Thus, there is a forest god among the Finns, Lapps, and Cheremisses. Again, *Yumala*, the Finnish name for god, seems originally to mean 'sky'.¹ Traces of ancestor worship also survive. Thus, the Ostyaks sacrifice to ghosts and make images of the more important dead. Images are also found in the tombs and barrows of most Finno-Ugrian tribes. The Voguls still use idols, generally wooden, to which animal sacrifices are offered, and the lips of which are sometimes besmeared with blood. Some curious combinations of Christianity and paganism are found. Thus, the Cheremisses are said to sacrifice to the Virgin Mary. All the tribes seem to believe that disease, due to possession by an evil spirit, can be both caused and cured by spells and incantations, to which they attribute extraordinary potency. Such belief is conspicuous in the *Kalevala*. A knowledge of the necessary magical formulae is possessed by wizards (the equivalent of the Shamans of the Central Asian Turanians), who are both exorcists and mediums able to ascertain the will of the gods. Their office is generally hereditary. A magical drum plays a prominent part in their invocations. Thus it appears that the three main features of the original Finno-Ugrian religion were nature worship, ancestor worship, and witchcraft.

History. Most of the Finno-Ugrian tribes have no recorded history, and their oral traditions shed but scanty light on their past.

It is only the Finns proper, and especially the Hungarians, who, in their later period, play a part in ordinary European history. The linguistic and archaeological data collected chiefly by Finnish scholars have made it possible to reconstruct in outline the migrations of these tribes. The results of these investigations are the following. The Finno-Ugrians originally lived together east of the Ural mountains, and spoke a common language. They were hunters and fishermen, not agriculturists. At some remote period of antiquity they moved into Europe, and perhaps settled on the Volga and the Oka, where they learned some rudiments of agriculture. They were still in the neolithic stage. About 600 B. C. they came in contact with an Iranian people, from whom they learned the use of metals and borrowed the numerals for 100 and 1,000. Hungarian and some other languages also borrowed the word for 10. There was probably a trade route up the Volga in the fourth century B. C. About that time the Western Finns must have separated from the rest and begun migrating north-westwards. Soon after the Christian era they came into contact with Letto-Lithuanian peoples in the Baltic provinces, and then with Scandinavians. From both Lithuanians and Scandinavians they borrowed a very large number of words expressing materials and ideas of civilization. Thus the Finnish names for gold, king, and everything concerned with government are Scandinavian in origin. The Finns had probably completed their occupation of Finland by about A. D. 700. Meanwhile the Slav tribes known later as Russians, which had been coming up from the south, pressed the Finns northward and separated the Western from the Eastern Finns and the Ugrians, who were driven back towards the east. The introduction of Christianity among the Finns about A. D. 1000 was followed by a long political and religious struggle between them and the Swedes. About A. D. 1300 Finland was definitely converted and annexed to Sweden, remaining a dependency of that country till 1809, when it was ceded to Russia. The Western Finns have thus been almost completely dominated by Swedish civilization.

The Ugrians and the Eastern Finns, cut off from a westward movement, came in contact with tribes of another division of the Turanians, the Turks or Tatars, by whom they were more or less Tatarized. Some tribes adopted a Tatar language,

while others (the Mordvins, Cheremisses, and Votyaks) borrowed many Tatar words. One of the large settlements formed by Eastern Finns was Great Bulgaria on the Volga, which continued to exist as a state till 1238, when it was destroyed by the Mongols, another division of the Turanians. A branch of these Bulgarians had many centuries earlier migrated to the Balkan peninsula, where they were so completely Slavonized that the identity of their language and race survives only in the name of the Bulgaria of to-day. The Hungarians, after moving westward, remained during part of the ninth century in a district probably lying between the Dnieper and the Danube. Then crossing the Carpathians they conquered the old Roman provinces of Pannonia and Dacia, which they have now occupied for a little more than a thousand years.

A. THE FINNS

Name. It is certain that the Finns were in Europe soon after the beginning of our era. The earliest authority for the name, the meaning of which is entirely doubtful, is Tacitus (c. A. D. 100). In his *Germania* (ch. 46) he locates the *Fenni* in the country which is now Lithuania, and describes them as a tribe of hunters in the lowest stage of civilization, poor, living in tents, and wearing skins. It is to be inferred from his account that they were without any knowledge of reindeer and of the use of snow-shoes. Half a century later Ptolemy wrongly pushes the Finns, whom he calls *Φίννοι*, to the south-west on his map, placing them to the east of the Vistula, between the *Ούένεδοι* (Wends) and *Γύθωνες* (Goths). But the habitat which he assigns to them at any rate shows that they must by that time have advanced to the neighbourhood of the Baltic. The name assigned by these two ancient authorities, *Fenni* and *Φίννοι* or *Φέννοι*, undoubtedly survives in that of the inhabitants of Finland.

Earlier Habitat. It is thus probable that the Finns had by the beginning of our era moved from their earlier habitat on the Ural farther northwards, and at the time of Tacitus extended from the Ural to the region of the Baltic, occupying the whole of the territory of Northern and Central Russia of to-day; for many Finnish place-names are found in these regions. Much later other branches of the Finnish race still lived near the

Ural Mountains, and even to the east of them on the Irtysh river.

At that time these branches were probably not separated by Slavs, but occupied all the intervening country. Thus at the time of Nestor (eleventh century) there lived in the interior of Russia Finnish tribes which have now disappeared. Again, the still existing Finnish tribes were formerly much larger, for with the spread of Christianity they have been more and more absorbed by the Russians, and, in any case, as nomads in former times they required more territory than they do now as agriculturists. It is probable that before the Teutonic migrations a large part of Russia was occupied by Finns, and that before the incursion of the Slavs the north of Russia was the exclusive possession of Finnish tribes. After the Goths moved to the Pontus, the Teutons became acquainted with the Finno-Ugrian tribes of inner Russia. Among the peoples ruled by the Ostrogoth king Hermanarik, the Mordens (i.e. the Mordvins described below) are mentioned² in the fourth century of our era. That the Finns extended southward as far as the isthmus between Don and Volga is indicated by the fact that the Volga first became known by its Mordvin name Rhau to Ptolemy, who calls it the Ra.³

Early Civilization. The numerous words borrowed by the Finns from the Teutons are important as throwing light on the state of civilization at which the former had arrived by the time they came into contact with the Teutons.⁴

From this evidence it is clear that the Finns borrowed mythological ideas as well as customs from their Teutonic neighbours. The results of research, however, do not so far justify the assumption that the geographical contiguity of Finns and Teutons goes back into prehistoric times. According to A. Hackmann,⁵ the Finns when they migrated into Finland were already familiar with the use of iron. The Teutons were deeply impressed by the Shamanism of the Finns, and marvelled at their skill in magic.⁶ It was not long before the Teutons entered into trade relations with their northern neighbours, and they early imposed tribute in furs upon them, as we learn from Old Norse authorities.⁷

Finns and Lapps. The old Teutonic authorities extended the name of Finns to the inhabitants of the high latitudes of the Scandinavian north, the Lapps, who, though they at the

present day both culturally and racially diverge widely from the Finns, were at that early period hardly as yet differentiated in language and physical type from the Finns of Finland. This is the *Finna land* of the Anglo-Saxon epic *Beowulf* (A. D. 580). In Norway even now the Lapps are called *Finner* (old Norse *Finnar*) or Finns.

i. *The Western or Baltic Finns*

The Finnish people that is the most important, both numerically and culturally, are the Finns proper. In their own language they call their country *Suomi*.

Habitat. They inhabit mainly the Grand-Duchy of Finland, which till the fall of the Czar was governed by the Emperor of Russia as its Grand Duke, but which in October 1917 declared itself an autonomous Republic, and more recently a constitutional monarchy. It is situated between the gulfs of Bothnia and Finland, including also farther north a large territory in Lapland. They are also scattered over the adjacent Russian Governments of Olonets, Archangel, Novgorod, Petrograd Tver, Yaroslavl, besides certain districts of Norway (Finnmarken in the extreme north, above Finland) and of Sweden. There are two main subdivisions of the Finns—the Tavasts who occupy the southern and western parts of the Grand-Duchy, while the Karelians are found to the north and east of them.

Number. The number of the Finns in Finland in 1900 was 2,352,990,⁸ constituting 86 per cent. of the inhabitants of the Grand-Duchy, the remaining 14 per cent. being Swedes. There are besides about 8,000 in Norway, 20,000 in Sweden, and about 200,000⁹ distributed over the adjacent parts of Russia proper. A considerable number of emigrant Finns also now live in the United States of America. The total number of Finns at the present day may be estimated at something over 2,600,000.¹⁰

Language. The Finnish language is fundamentally Turanian, and in particular has very fully developed the characteristic feature of vowel harmony. But it has been profoundly influenced by Scandinavian, both in vocabulary and structure. In its present form it consists of Turanian material recast in an Aryan mould. It is full of Swedish words, some of the simplest terms being borrowed from Scandinavian. The

grammar has been radically modified, both by the rejection of un-Aryan and by the adoption of Aryan peculiarities. The various nominal or verbal forms are no longer merely roots with a string of obvious suffixes attached, but the ending forms a whole with the root as in Greek and Latin inflexions. The adjective is declined and agrees with its substantive. The verb forms compound tenses by means of auxiliaries. There is also an abundant supply of relative pronouns and particles.

Literature. The oldest linguistic material in Finnish consists of lists of single words, chiefly personal and proper names, compiled in the first half of the thirteenth century. But the first Finnish book did not appear till 1544. An energetic study of the national language as well as antiquities has resulted in the publication of numerous works in Finnish. Several collections of Finnish popular and mythological poetry have been published, and there is a copious general modern literature in Finnish.

Characteristics. In physique the Finns, as opposed to the Swedish-speaking population who retain their Scandinavian characteristics, are a strong and hardy people, short in stature, with almost round head, and neck very full and strong. The forehead is low, the face flat, the cheek-bones prominent, the eyes mostly grey and slanting somewhat inwards. The nose is short and flat, the mouth protruding, the lips thick, the beard weak and sparse. The hair, which was no doubt originally black, is now brown, red, or even fair. The complexion is brownish. The Finns are morally upright, hospitable, faithful, and submissive, but are also somewhat stolid, indolent, irascible, and vindictive. They are distinguished by a keen sense of personal freedom and independence. Many of these physical and moral qualities they have in common with the other divisions of the Turanians. The qualities in which they diverge are doubtless due to the considerable infusion of Swedish blood which they have undergone.

Civilization. Originally leading a nomadic life as hunters and fishers, the Finns have long ago succumbed to the influence of European civilization. They are now everywhere settled as herdsmen, agriculturists, traders, or follow the various other occupations of a modern European state. They

may be said to be on the same cultural level as the Swedes, whose civilization they have adopted and under whose political system they lived for centuries. The early Finlanders, before they came under Swedish influence, do not seem to have had any political organization, but to have lived in separate communities independent of each other. It is a striking feature of the country life of the Finns of to-day that they hardly ever live in houses clustered together as villages, but in isolated farms in the middle of their fields and meadows.¹¹ This may be a survival from their nomadic period, when, owing to the necessity of wide pasturage, their dwellings lay far apart.

Religion. The higher religion of the ancient Finns consisted in the worship of gods who were the personified forces of nature, as Ukko the god of the air, Akti the god of waters, and others. After their contact with the Swedes, the Christianization of the country began in the twelfth, and was completed by the end of the following century.

In 1529 Gustavus Vasa introduced the Lutheran form of Protestantism, which has remained the religion of the country in spite of the temporary effort, made under Russian rule in the reign of Alexander III, to subject the Finns to the Orthodoxy of the Greek Church.

History. The migration of the Finns into the regions now inhabited by them began at the latest in the fourth century of our era, and by A. D. 700 they were probably in complete possession of the Finland of to-day. They probably found the Lapps in previous occupation of the country. It was not till the introduction of Christianity in the middle of the twelfth century that they were brought into contact with civilized Europe.

The early Finlanders seem to have been both brave and aggressive. Their repeated attacks on the coast of Sweden resulted in the invasion of their country in 1157 by the Swedish King Eric IX, who conquered the people and had them baptized. Finland was gradually reverting to independence and paganism, when in 1209 a missionary bishop named Thomas (an Englishman) arrived and began the work of reviving Christianity.

He nearly succeeded in detaching Finland from Sweden and forming it into a province subject only to the Pope. In

1249 the famous Birger Yarl undertook a crusade in Finland, compelling the Tavasts, the western subdivision of the Finns proper, to accept Christianity. After finally subjugating the country, the Swedes spread their civilization among the Finlanders, gave them laws, according to them the same civil rights as belonged to themselves, and introduced agriculture and other beneficial arts into the country. Gustavus Vasa and his successor did much for Finland by founding schools, building churches, encouraging learning, and introducing printing. In the beginning of the seventeenth century Gustavus Adolphus established the Diet of Finland, composed of the four orders of the nobility, clergy, burghers, and peasants. The conquest of Finland by Sweden resulted in almost continuous wars between that country and Russia, in the course of which Finland was constantly devastated and suffered great misery. Peter the Great tried to wrest Finland from Sweden, and by 1716 was in occupation of the whole country. In consequence, the province of Viborg, the eastern division of Finland, was in 1721 finally ceded to Russia. After two unsuccessful attempts to recover the lost province, war broke out again between the two countries in 1808, but was ended in 1809 by the cession of the whole of Finland, and the Åland Islands to Russia. Finland, however, did not become a part of Russia as a conquered province, but, maintaining her free constitution and fundamental laws, became a semi-independent Grand-Duchy with the Tsar as Grand Duke. But towards the end of Alexander III's reign, the Slavophil movement in Russia began to aim at subjecting Finland to orthodoxy and autocracy. With the accession of Nicholas II, the constitutional conflict became acute, and the 'February manifesto' of 1899 virtually abrogated the legislative power of the Finnish Diet. Russian officials and the Russian language were forced on Finland, and in April 1903 the Russian Governor was invested with practically dictatorial powers. To all this the people of Finland opposed a determined resistance, which in November 1905 culminated in a national strike. As a result the demands of Finland were granted and the *status quo ante* 1899 was restored. In 1908-10 friction with Russia was again renewed, the Imperial Government repeating the attempt to curtail the power of the Finnish Diet. The collapse of the Russian Empire holds out to Finland the prospect of gaining

permanent freedom. In October 1917 a commission of the Finnish Diet was appointed to work out a scheme of Finnish autonomy in federation with Russia.

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a. *The Karelians*

Habitat. The Karelians form the second of the two main subdivisions of the Finns in the narrow sense. They occupy the east and the north of Finland, extending from the extreme east end of the Gulf of Finland past Lake Ladoga towards the White Sea, and southward from the Government of Archangel through Olonets (around Lake Onega), Novgorod, and Tver. Three small groups of Karelians are also found in Ingria, which forms the northern and north-western part of the Government of Petrograd. They are believed to have migrated here from Finland about A.D. 1100. There appear, moreover, to be authentic traces of a Karelian population in the Governments of Kaluga (south of Moscow), Yaroslavl (east of Tver), Vladimir, and Tambov, as far south as the Volga, but here they have been merged in the Slav people. Though the Karelians are not generally regarded as separate from the Finns, they have long been a distinct tribe. Living farther east, they have come less under Swedish and more under Russian influence than the inhabitants of West Finland. But as many of the districts which they inhabit are out of the way, the Russian influence has not been strong. Hence they have adopted less of European civilization, and have in places preserved their own customs better than the Westerners.

Number. The total number of Karelians is about 260,000,¹² of whom about 63,000 live in Olonets, and about 195,000 in Novgorod and Tver. These figures include the Karelians of the southern districts who can still be distinguished from the Russians, but not any estimate of those who have become totally absorbed in the Slav population.

Language. The language of the Karelians is practically the same as that of the Tavasts or Western Finns. It is,

however, purer Finnish, because it has been far less subjected to Swedish influence.

The great national epic of the Finns, the *Kalevala*, was collected among the Karelians, chiefly in East Finland and Olonets, by Elias Lönnrot in 1835. It is only since then that the Finnish language has been used for literary composition, and it has been so used with ever-increasing enthusiasm. Several authors have distinguished themselves in this way; but the most gifted of the imaginative writers in Finnish is Johani Aho, who was born in 1861. The most important works on the language itself have been Lönnrot's great Finnish-Swedish Dictionary and Donner's Comparative Dictionary of the Finno-Ugrian languages (in German).

Those of the Karelians who live near Russian settlements can generally speak Russian, though they use their own language among themselves.

Characteristics. The Karelians are slighter in build and better proportioned than the Finns. Owing doubtless to intermixture with the Russians, they resemble the latter to a considerable extent. Their eyes are usually blue, their hair is generally brown or reddish, and is clipped level with the eyebrows. They have low foreheads. The Karelians are more enterprising, vivacious, and sociable, but less persevering than the Finns.

Occupations. The occupations in which the Karelians engage are very various. One of them is agriculture, which however in their habitat is a struggle against nature. Another, the best and most profitable, is the felling, transport, and floating of timber for the saw-mills. Fishing in rivers and lakes is a common occupation among them. They also fish in the sea for salmon, herring, and marine animals in Kandalaksha Bay (the north-western branch of the White Sea). Hunting in the forests has been reduced from what it was in former days since the law against trapping was passed in 1892. The carrying trade with Finland, which used to be extensively practised, has also been reduced since the Finns have taken to opening a shop in almost every Karelian village.

Dwellings and Food. The houses of the Karelians are built on a sort of permanent scaffolding and are reached by ladders. A corridor divides the rest of the house from the store shed. On the ground below are sheep pens and cattle sheds. The

principal food of the Karelians consists of fish and vegetables; but they also use flour. On fast days they eat salted mushrooms and edible fungi stewed with turnips and potatoes. They brew a sort of country beer called *braga*. They do not drink *vodka*.

Religion. Owing to Russian influence the Karelians belong to the orthodox Greek Church, while the Finns are Lutheran Protestants. The Karelians began to be Christianized in the thirteenth century.

We learn from Russian Chronicles that in the year 1227 Prince Yaroslav sent out priests to baptize a number of Karelians. According to a bull of 1351 the Karelians had before that date adopted the Catholic doctrine, which the same bull informs us they had been obliged by the Russians to renounce.

History. Though the language of both tribes is the same, the Karelians have not only always been separated from the Tavasts while in the north, but have even often been engaged in actual hostilities with them. Their history is almost entirely unknown till the time of the Swedish invasion in the twelfth century. They are first mentioned in the ninth century. An early Norse account¹³ states that in A.D. 877 a vassal of Harold Haarfagar in Lapland was visited by an envoy of the Kvens (or Finns)¹⁴ and asked for help against the Karelians, who had been devastating their land. We further gather from a Saga that the Karelians, as well as other Finnish tribes, were tributary to the Swedish King Eric Edmundsson, who died in A.D. 833. It is most probable that the Russians of Novgorod began early in the twelfth century to exact tribute from the Karelians. They had to enforce it sword in hand, for it was resisted by the Karelians, who in 1187 murdered the Novgorod tribute collectors. But in spite of the conflicts between the Novgorod Russians and the Karelians, they often made common cause. The Karelians are mentioned (for the first time in Russian history) as having in 1143 made a raid against the Finns (whom the Russians call Yem). They also fought on the side of the Novgorodians against Sweden. But in 1323 a peace was concluded by which the Russians ceded a large part of Karelia to Sweden. Peter the Great wrested Karelia from Sweden in 1721, since when it has been part of the Russian Empire.

Nestor (eleventh century), the reputed author of the earliest Russian Chronicle, mentions a trade route from Greece along the Dnieper and Lovat to Lake Ilmen (on which Novgorod is situated) and thence down the Volchov, the Ladoga, and the Neva into the Gulf of Finland. The Karelians as inhabiting these latter regions naturally took part in the trade which passed through their country. Björkö in the Gulf of Finland was the emporium of this trade, and during the Middle Ages used to be a depository for the trade of the Hanseatic towns with Russia.

BIBLIOGRAPHY.—Castrén, *Ethnologische Vorlesungen*, pp. 144–53.

b. *Other Western Finns*

There are in Western Russia four other tribes of Baltic Finns, which are closely allied in speech.

1. The *Vepsas*, or Northern Chudes, inhabit the country round the upper course of the Oyat river (east of Lake Ladoga), and extend to the south-west of Lake Onega in the Government of Olonets. There is written evidence that the Vepsas and Karelians lived on the north-east of Lake Kubinsk (north of the town of Vologda) as late as the middle of the thirteenth century. A hundred years later a Russian monk, who founded a monastery at the south-east corner of Lake Onega, mentions the Chudes (Vepsas) and Lapps as living in the neighbourhood of that lake.¹⁵ The Vepsas probably represent the Ves, who are stated by the Russian Chronicle to have lived near Lake Bielozero (60° N., 38° E.). They now number about 25,000, being the remnant of a once much larger tribe.

Both the Vepsas and the Votes are closely allied in language to the Esthonians.

2. The *Votes*, or Southern Chudes, at one time probably the original inhabitants of the whole of Ingria, the district round Petrograd, are now restricted to about thirty parishes in the north-western part of that region. They were partly driven out of their old home by Karelians from Finland and by Russians from the south.

They are first mentioned by Nestor in 1069.¹⁶ About ten years ago they numbered, together with the Ingrian Karelians, about 14,000.¹⁷

3. The *Esthonians* inhabit the province of Esthonia, the

north of Livonia, nearly as far south as the river Salis, as well as the islands of Dago and Oesel. There are also smaller groups of them to the east in the neighbouring Governments of Petrograd, Pskov, and Vitebsk. The name Est or Ehst, by which they are known to foreigners, is probably the same as the Aestii of Tacitus, though the latter designation originally belonged to a totally different tribe. The Esthonians call themselves *mā mes* or 'country people', and their country *viro*. They are the peasantry of the Russian province of Esthonia and of the neighbouring districts.

Next to the Finns they are the largest western tribe, the Esthonian population exceeding 1,000,000.

They were serfs till 1817, when they were freed. But their condition was so little improved that a serious rebellion broke out among them in 1859. Owing to the influence of the surrounding Russian and German population, they have become more civilized than the other tribes in these regions.

Two dialects may be distinguished in the Esthonian language, a northern spoken around Reval, and a southern around Dorpat. The oldest linguistic records are single words, mostly place and personal names, dating from the first half of the thirteenth century. The first traces of their literature, which made a great start in the nineteenth century, goes back to the sixteenth.

BIBLIOGRAPHY.—Wiedemann, *Aus dem inneren und äusseren Leben der Esthen*, 1876. Kirby, *Esthonia* (with map), 2 vols., London, 1895.

4. The *Livonians* are the old Finnish inhabitants of West Livland (or Livonia) and North Kurland. They have become almost entirely absorbed by the Letts. They are mentioned as a warlike, predatory pagan tribe in the Middle Ages. Their language has borrowed almost half its vocabulary from Lettic, which has also influenced its word-formation and syntax. It is a dying language, which twenty-five years ago was spoken by about 2,000 people. It survives, if at all, only along a narrow strip of coast in the extreme north-west of Kurland.¹⁸

BIBLIOGRAPHY.—*History of Livonia* in Scheffer's *History of Lapland*, London, 1704; v. Parrot, *Liven, Lätten, Esten*, 2 vols. (German), Stuttgart, 1828. Cp. Maps of the Baltic Provinces in Abercromby, *Pre- and Proto-historic Finns*, London, 1898.

c. *The Lapps*

Linguistically the Lapps are closely allied to the western branch of the Finns, but racially they occupy a somewhat doubtful position.

Habitat. The territory inhabited by the Lapps is chiefly the extreme north of the Scandinavian peninsula, for the most part within the Arctic Circle, whither they have been driven by the Finns. The term Lapland is used to designate somewhat vaguely the region occupied by the Lapps in Norway, Sweden, Finland, and Russia. In Norway it covers the division of Finmarken and the higher inland parts of Tromsö and Nordland; in Sweden the districts of Norbotten and Vesterbotten, besides the five districts called Lappmark; in Finland the northern part of the district of Uleåborg, chiefly around Lake Enare; and in Russia the western part of the Government of Archangel in the Kola peninsula. The southern boundary of the Lapps in Sweden is roughly 64° N., though scattered families of them occur much farther south.

Names. The Lapps are by the Swedes called *Lapper*, by the Russians *Lapari*, and by the Norwegians *Finner*. They call their country *Sabme* or *Same*, and themselves *Samelats*: names almost identical with those employed by the Finns for their own country and race. 'Lapp' is probably a nickname imposed by foreigners.

Classes. The Laplanders may be divided into the three classes of Mountain Lapps, Forest Lapps, and Fisher Lapps, the proportions of the three varying according to the nature of the territory which they inhabit. The first two classes are nomadic, and are the true representatives of their race.¹⁹ In the wandering life of the mountain Lapp, his autumn residence on the borders of the forest district may be considered the central point. It is there that he erects on piles his small wooden storehouse. Early in November he begins to wander south or east into the forest land, and, in Sweden, occasionally visits the towns. About the beginning of May he is back at his storehouse; but as soon as the weather grows warm he pushes up to the mountains, and there throughout the summer pastures his herds and prepares his stores of cheese. By October he is busy at his storehouse, killing the surplus reindeer and curing meat for the winter. In Norway the Mountain

Lapps lead a harder life. There they are in winter usually settled near the churches, while in summer they visit the coasts. Flesh is the favourite and in winter the only food of the Mountain Lapps. They also use reindeer milk and cheese, and rye or barley cakes.

The Forest Lapp is mainly distinguished by the narrower limits of his nomadic life. He never migrates outside a certain district. For in this he possesses hereditary rights and maintains a series of camping grounds which he visits in regular rotation.

In April or May he sets his reindeer free to wander as they please; but immediately after midsummer, when the mosquitoes become troublesome, he collects them again. About the end of August they are again let loose, but are once more collected in October. During the winter the Forest Lapp pursues the same course of life as the Mountain Lapp.

Besides the Mountain Lapps, there are in Norway both River and Sea Lapps. The River Lapps, many of whom are descendants of Finns proper, breed cattle, attempt a little tillage, and entrust their reindeer to the care of Mountain Lapps. The Sea Lapps are in some respects hardly to be distinguished from the other coast dwellers of Finmark.

In Finland the great bulk of the comparatively few Laplanders in the Duchy belong to the fisher class, many of them being settled in the neighbourhood of Lake Enare. In the spring they go down to the Norwegian coast to take part in the sea-fisheries, returning to the Lake about midsummer. Formerly they found the capture of wild deer a profitable occupation.

The Russian Lapps are also for the most part fishers. They maintain a half-nomadic life, very few having become settlers in the Russian villages. It is usual to distinguish them according to the district of the coast which they frequent, as Murman and Terian Lapps. A separate tribe, the Filmans (i.e. Finmans), who wander about various tundras, or mossy steppes, along the northern coast of the Kola peninsula, owe their peculiar dialect and their Lutheran creed to a former connexion with Sweden.

Number. The total number of the Lapps is over 30,000, distributed as follows:—in Norway, 20,786 (in 1891); in Sweden, 7,000 (in 1904); in Russia 2,040 (in 1897); and in

Finland about 1,000. They seem to be increasing in Norway, and are pushing farther south. But in Sweden they are gradually abandoning their nomad habits and becoming merged in the Swedish population.

Language. The Lappish language is very closely connected with Finnish, but its phonetics are different and more complicated. It is broken up into very distinct and even mutually unintelligible dialects, owing chiefly to the influence of the various nationalities with which the Lapps have been in contact. An eminent authority, Baron G. von Düben, distinguishes four leading dialects, but a greater number is recognizable. Thus, according to Lönnrot, there are in Russian Lapland alone three dialects due to the influence of Norwegian, Karelian, and Russian respectively. Lappish has borrowed many words from Norwegian, Swedish, Finnish, and Russian. That it began at a very early period to borrow from Old Norse is shown by the use it still makes of Scandinavian forms belonging to a linguistic stage older even than that of Icelandic. An analysis of their vocabulary throws some light on the state of their civilization before they came in contact with the Norse. Thus agricultural terms, the names of the metals, and the word for 'smith' are all of Scandinavian origin.

Literature. The language of the Lapps was long ago reduced to writing by missionaries, but very little has been printed in it except school-books and religious works. The New Testament was only translated into Norwegian Lappish in 1840, and it was not till 1895 that the entire Bible was printed in the same dialect. The only Gospel that has been translated into Russian Lappish is that of St. Matthew in two versions. A number of Lappish popular tales and songs have also been taken down from the lips of the people and published. One of the Saga-like pieces thus preserved seems to contain a reminiscence of the original home of the race in Central Asia; for a reference to Lake Baikal, and possibly also to the Altai Mountains, has been found there. The story of Nyav-visena, daughter of the sun, is full of quaint folklore about the taming of the reindeer.

Characteristics. The most obvious physical characteristic of the Lapps is shortness of stature, the average height of the men being 5 ft. and of the women 4 ft. 9 in. The body is as a rule fairly well proportioned, but the legs are rather short

and inclined to be bandy. The complexion, though usually dark, is sometimes fair. The colour of the hair varies from blond and reddish to a bluish or greyish black. The eyes are black, hazel, blue, or grey. Besides being the shortest, the Lapp is the most brachycephalic type of man in Europe, perhaps in the world,²⁰ their average cephalic index being about 83. In width of face the women are more Turanian than the men, but in neither sex is the opening of the eye, though narrow, really oblique. The nose is always low and broad. The muscular system is usually well developed. But there is a deficiency of fatty tissue which affects the features (especially by making the eyes prominent) and the general character of the skin, the thinness of which can hardly be paralleled among other Europeans. Among the Lapps, as among other lower races, the index is shorter than the ring finger.

The Lapps are a quiet and an inoffensive people, among whom crimes of violence are almost unknown. The only breach of law common among them is the killing of tame reindeer which are the property of others. The Russian Lapps are morally inferior to those of Scandinavia. They have a bad reputation for lying and untrustworthiness, and they are very generally addicted to drunkenness. In Scandinavia the importation of intoxicants among the Lapps has been restricted since 1723. Here too education has made some advance, while the Russian Lapps are still quite illiterate.

The Lapps are even now largely nomads, many of their habits having probably changed but little since they first tamed reindeer. Their manner of life is still in the patriarchal stage.

Religion. The great majority of the Lapps are nominally Christians, being Protestants in the Scandinavian countries and members of the Greek Church in Russian territory. Though the first attempts to Christianize them began in the eleventh century, they openly worshipped their heathen idols till nearly the end of the seventeenth century in Swedish Lappmark, and secretly in Norway till some way on into the eighteenth century. The practice of heathen rites survived into the nineteenth century, and is probably not yet extinct. Lapp graves prepared in the old heathen manner have been found in Norway dating from as late as the years 1820-6.

History. The very fragmentary information that we possess of the history of the Lapps is based on the evidence of language and on the scanty references to them in the literature of the peoples with whom they have come in contact. From the geographical position which they have long occupied in the extreme north-west of Europe, it is to be inferred that the Lapps represent the first wave of the westward migration of the Turanian race in Europe. Linguistic evidence shows that they were in touch with the Scandinavians in the first centuries of our era. In the early Middle Ages they began to be discriminated from the Finns by the name of *Skridefinnas* or 'run-Finns',²¹ the first word of the compound referring to the snow-shoes (now *ski*) used by them. Procopius (1053-4) calls them Σκριθίφιννοι, and Adam of Bremen (eleventh century) places them, under the name of *Scritifinni*, on the boundary of Sweden and Norway. In early times the territory of the Lapps in the east extended much farther southward. In the fourteenth century they were still to be found on the shores of Lake Onega. In the middle of the sixteenth century they were found in south-east Finland near Lake Saima, as far south as about 60° N. latitude. In Norway and Sweden they did not come into the southern parts of their present habitat till after the Middle Ages.²²

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ii. *The Eastern (Kama) Finns*

Habitat. The eastern branch of the Finns, which consists of four main tribes with a population of over 2,000,000, is scattered over a wide territory in Eastern Russia, extending from about 65° to 53° N. and from about 42° to 55° E. In the south-west of this territory they border on the region (in the Governments of Vladimir and Tambov) which the Karelian branch of the Western Finns appear to have occupied in bygone times.²³

Among the Eastern Finns the Permians constitute a closer group based both on proximity of habitat (the region of the Kama river) and on the intimate affinity of their languages.

a. *The Permyaks*

The Permyaks form the first subdivision of this group. They may be treated as practically one tribe with the Zirians, because their dialects differ only very slightly, because both call themselves by the same name, *Komi-mort* or 'Kama people', and because the two peoples only begin to be distinguished towards the end of the Middle Ages in the Russian Chronicles. In early times the Permyaks were almost as famous as the old Bulgarians. In the Scandinavian Sagas their country was celebrated under the name of Byarmaland. Their proper home was, and to a large extent still is, the river district of the Kama. Thus a Russian chronicle of 1396 says: 'The Kama river surrounds the whole Permyak land, and on this river live many heathen; it flows southward into the Tatar land, and falls into the Volga sixty versts below Kazan.' ²⁴

Trade and Trade Routes. In the Middle Ages the Permians were great traders. They are stated in 1096 to have made a trade route to Yugria over the Urals, along the Vogulka river (a tributary of the Kama) and the Sosva (in Western Siberia). There was formerly a trade route from the Caspian along the Volga, Kama, Dvina, and Pechorâ to the Arctic Ocean. For this trade there were three emporia: Bolgari on the Volga, Cherdin on the Kolva (a tributary of the Kama), and Cholmogor on the Dvina. To Bolgari wares came direct from Persia, Bokhara, Armenia, Arabia, and, according to some, even from India. A part of these wares then went north to the Permians, who exchanged them for furs which they obtained from Siberia. The Permian tribes were long in exclusive possession of this important trade. But the powerful mercantile republic of Novgorod, from about the beginning of the eleventh century, commenced attempts to subject Permian, owing to its value for their trade, and succeeded in doing so by 1100. After the fall of Novgorod, the Permians came under the dominion of the princes of Moscow. In 1472 Cherdin and nearly the whole of the territory of Permian were conquered. But till the middle of the sixteenth century the Permians still retained their own chiefs as vassals of the Czars.

Habitat, Number, &c. The Permyaks live in the districts of Perm and Cherdin in the Government of Perm. Their numbers in 1897 were about 50,000.²⁵ Their occupations are hunting, fishing, and agriculture. Their language has been the subject of treatment by various Russian scholars.²⁶ They belong to the Greek Orthodox Church. The first Christian missionary who worked among them (1375-96) was St. Stephen.

Of all the surviving Finnish tribes the Permyaks are the most Russianized, and they will probably before very long be absorbed in the Slav population.²⁷

b. *The Zirians*

Habitat. The important tribe of the Zirians²⁸ is the most northerly of the Eastern Finns. They inhabit in the province of Archangel more than half of the Pechora District (of which they formed 60 per cent. of the population in 1899), and in the Province of Vologda the whole of the Ust-Sisolsk District (on the Sisola), and two-thirds of the Yarensk District (on the Vichegda). They are also found on the upper Kama, in the Governments of Vyatka and Perm. Their centre is the town of Ust-Ishma, at the junction of the Ishma and the Pechora. In former times they extended farther west than they do now. On the east about 1,000 Zirians live on the Asiatic side of the Urals along the lower Ob.

They call themselves, from their old home, by the same name as the Permyaks, *Komi-mört* or 'Kama-people'.

Number. Their total numbers are about 208,000.²⁹

Characteristics. The average height of men among the Zirians is 5 ft. 4 in.²⁹ They are robust in build. They are blond and grey-eyed. They do not differ much in physique from the ordinary Russian peasant of Archangel. The physically best type is found about Ust-Ishma and Makheva.

Occupations. The Zirians are hospitable, vivacious, and of easy morality. They are an energetic, enterprising, and shrewd people, given to trade and commerce, the trade across the Urals in Samoyed wares being largely in their hands. They also practise reindeer breeding, in which they have been engaged for a very long time. In 1896 they possessed in the Pechora district about 225,000 head of reindeer,³⁰ single Zirians sometimes owning as many as 4,000 each. They

further engage in hunting and agriculture to some extent. They often hire Samoyeds as labourers and herdsmen.

Manner of Life. Having been in constant touch with the Russians since the ninth century, the Zirians have adopted much that is Russian in customs and dress. They are ceasing to be nomadic, having assimilated the rural institutions of the Russians. They often live in large villages, inhabiting log houses much the same as those of the Russian peasants. Their food is chiefly meat, fish, and milk. They are fond of *vodka*, but they also brew a sort of beer from barley malt.

Religion. The Zirians were converted to Christianity in the fourteenth century by the missionary and later bishop of Perm, St. Stephen. They are now devout adherents of the Orthodox Greek Church. Nearly every village in their country has a well-built church.

Language. The language of the Zirians³¹ is closely allied to that of the Permyaks, the two tribes being mutually intelligible. It has borrowed many Russian words. There is also in the vocabulary a Samoyed element associated with reindeer; for the Zirians have derived from the Samoyeds the art of breeding and herding those animals.

Among the Finno-Ugrians the Zirians, next to the Hungarians, have the oldest, though only scanty, linguistic texts. They date from the second half of the fourteenth century, consisting chiefly in a translation of the Gospels, probably the work of St. Stephen. These are partly written in Zirian characters which St. Stephen formed out of the Church Slav alphabet.³² Otherwise the Zirians have no literature nor written memorials.

c. *The Votyaks*

Habitat. This tribe forms the third member of the Permian group, being closely allied to the Zirians. Their territory lies to the south of that of the Zirians, for the most part along the river Vyatka and the upper Kama, chiefly in the south-eastern part of the Government of Vyatka. They are also found in the Government of Ufa,³³ into which some of them migrated about the sixteenth century; and this region being more fertile is said to have improved their physique here. As a rule the Votyaks are physically weak, and possess only moderate intelligence. They are an agricultural people,

but they are also noted as very industrious and skilled artisans.

Number. Their total numbers are about 420,000.³⁴

Language. The language of the Votyaks, like that of their kinsmen the Permyaks and the Zirians, has borrowed many elements from the Chuvash, Tatar, and Russian.

Religion. The Votyaks may have been Christianized about the same time as the Permians and Zirians, but there is no trustworthy information on this subject. They are now, like the other divisions of this group, adherents of the Orthodox Greek Church. When Castrén wrote (1851),³⁵ there were, however, still some pagans in the population. In any case, Shamanistic practices still survive among them.³⁶

In the Middle Ages the Votyaks became subject to the republic of Chlinow, which was founded in 1174 by colonists from Novgorod, on the river Vyatka. This republic lasted till 1459, when it was overthrown by a Prince of Moscow. After the fall of Chlinow and Novgorod, the Votyaks came under the dominion of Moscow. They are said to have retained a kind of independence till 1589, when they voluntarily became subject to the Russian Czar Feodor Ivanovich.³⁷

According to their own traditions, the tribal chiefs of the Votyaks formerly dwelt on the Kazanka, in the neighbourhood of Arskoi Prigorod, where they had a fortress, but whence they were later driven by the Tatars into their present territory.³⁸

d. *The Volga Group*

The Volga (or Bulgarian) group of the Eastern Finns inhabit the regions of the middle Volga, and consist of three main tribes. They have borrowed more Tatar elements, while the Permian group have come more under the influence of the Slavs. This contrast is reflected in the outward appearance of the two peoples. The Volga Finns are no longer nomads, having adopted the settled life of the surrounding Slavs. In early times the Bulgars are described by the Teutonic writer Jordanes as having their seat above the Pontus. The Arab writer Ibn Fozlan describes them as living on the middle Volga near its confluence with the Kama. He, in A.D. 921, visited their capital, which was on the left bank of the Volga (situated c. 54° 54' N. lat.), and gives some information about

it. Islam was adopted there in the following year. Some five centuries before a section of the Bulgars had left the main body, crossed the Danube, and penetrated into Moesia.³⁹

Here they became so merged in the Slavs with whom they came in contact that they lost not only their racial type,⁴⁰ but their language. Thus it has come about that their origin is indicated almost solely by the name of the modern state of Bulgaria.⁴¹

1. *The Mordvins. Habitat.* This tribe lives in the region of the middle Volga in the Governments of Samara, Simbirsk, and Penza.⁴² There are two sub-tribes, the Mokshans in the east, living chiefly on the Sura and Moksha rivers, and the Ersans in the west, on the Oka. They are found scattered over the Governments of Vyatka, Kazan, Nizhni Novgorod, Penza, Saratov, Tambov, and Simbirsk.⁴³

Names and Mode of Life. These two subdivisions are already mentioned by Rubruquis⁴⁴ under the name of Moxel and Merdas or Merduas. Herberstein,⁴⁵ who knows them only under the name of Mordwa, says they were good bowmen, but differed from the Cheremisses in having stationary dwellings. Owing to the fertility of their land, they had early given up their nomadic life and taken to agriculture and cattle-breeding. Though they were once a very warlike and cruel people, they are now peaceful and industrious agriculturists and bee-keepers. Of their old customs they have retained little or nothing.

Religion. Pallas found some heathen among them, but they are said to have adopted Christianity, which has been preached to them since the time of the Empress Anne (1730-40).

Number. The total number of the Mordvins is over 1,000,000,⁴⁶ and is even given as high as 1,860,000.⁴⁷

Dialects. There are two Mordvin dialects, which show many borrowings from Chuvash, Tatar, and Russian.

History. Jordanes, who first mentions this people under the name of Mordens, seems to have counted them as belonging to the dominion of the Gothic leader Hermanarik. It is uncertain to what extent they were later subject to the Bulgarian kingdom. Nestor (eleventh century) speaks of them as Finnish, and they are mentioned by many mediaeval authors, who however give little information about them. In 1104 they repulsed the attack of a Muscovite prince named

Jaroslav Svyatoslavich.⁴⁸ The attacks were repeated by his successors, who succeeded in making some sections of the Mordvins tributary. But soon after came the Mongol invasion, which subjected both Russians and Mordvins. When Mongol rule in Russia terminated, the Mordvins, in alliance with Tatars and their kinsmen the Cheremisses, again engaged in conflicts with the Russians. Ultimately, when the dominion of Russia on the Volga was consolidated, the Mordvins became subject to that power.

2. *The Cheremisses. Habitat.* This tribe inhabits the banks of the Volga, chiefly the western or 'meadow' bank, for the most part in the neighbourhood of Kazan. The few who live on the mountainous side are called 'Hill Cheremisses' and are physically stronger. They also extend to the north of Kazan, along the Kama and the Vyatka rivers, occupying the southern parts of the Governments of Perm and Vyatka. They are further to be met with in the Governments of Kostroma, Nizhni Novgorod, Ufa, and Orenburg.

Number. Their number, which seems to have increased considerably during the last century, is now about 375,000.⁴⁹

Name. The name 'Cheremiss' is said to have been given them by the Mordvins and to mean 'Easterners'. They call themselves *Mara* 'men'.⁵⁰

Language. The language, in which two dialects, the Western and Eastern, are to be distinguished, has been strongly influenced by Chuvash, Tatar, and Russian.⁵¹

Manner of Life. The Cheremisses have given up nomad life, and are now active agriculturists. They live together in villages consisting of only a few houses, at the most twenty to thirty.

Religion. Though long subject to Tatar rule, they did not adopt Islam, but retained their own Shamanistic cult, which has even now not disappeared. Christianity, which was introduced among them in the middle of the eighteenth century, is only nominal, the population generally being still heathen.⁵²

History. In history the Cheremisses are first mentioned by Jordanes (who calls them *Svemniscans*) as among the peoples whom Hermanarik, King of the Goths, subjected about A.D. 350. In Russian history their name first occurs in Nestor (eleventh century), but the information which he and the Russian Chronicles supply about them is very scanty. The

oldest accounts represent them as living in the centre of the Bulgarian state; hence they probably formed a part of that great and famous kingdom. After the destruction of that power by the Mongols, the Cheremisses became subject to the Tatar Khans, whose seat was at Kazan. From that time onwards they are often referred to in Russian history. They always made common cause with the Tatars, and fought obstinately against the Russians; and even after the fall of the Khanate of Kazan they maintained their hostility. At that time they were a very wild, cruel, and rapacious people. They used to wander about as nomads in the forest region between the Volga and the Vyatka. According to their own traditions, the Cheremisses formerly lived under their own tribal chiefs, and their manner of life was much the same as that of the Ugrian peoples.⁵³

3. *The Chuvashes. Habitat.* This tribe consists of a mixture of the Cheremiss branch of the Volga Finns with Tatars.⁵⁴ They live on the right bank of the Volga and on the Sura, in the Governments of Kazan, Simbirsk, Samara, and in lesser numbers in Saratov, Ufa, and Orenburg.

Number. Their numbers in 1897 were 843,755.⁵⁵

Characteristics. Physically the Chuvashes resemble the Finns, being round-headed, flat-featured, and light-eyed, but their type has been affected by long association with the Tatar element. In dress they have been thoroughly Russianized. They are described as industrious, moral, and very cleanly in their habits.

Occupations. They are agriculturists, cattle-breeders, and bee-keepers, as well as fishers and hunters.

Religion. Since the middle of the eighteenth century they have been Christians for the most part, but they hold the heathen magic priest in high regard, and cling to many of their old Shamanistic practices.

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B. THE UGRIANS

The Ugrian group consists of three branches. Two of these, the Ostyaks and the Voguls, living as neighbours,

chiefly on the Asiatic side of the Urals, are more closely associated as Ob-Ugrians, and are few in number. The third, which has been separated from the other two for more than 1,000 years, is by far the most important, occupying a wide territory with a large population. These are the Hungarians.

Name. This group is called Ugrian from the name of the extensive region on both sides of the lower Ob and Irtysh which is bounded by the habitat of the Samoyeds in the north, of the Tatars in the south, by the Urals in the west, and by the rivers Nadim, Agan, and Vach in the east. Within these limits are found the Ostyaks and the Voguls, who in Russian chronicles and other old documents bear the common name of Ugrians. South of these, in prehistoric times, lived various kindred tribes, among whom the most powerful were the Unogurs, later called Ugurs, Ugurs, and Ungars⁵⁶ (the modern Hungarians).

Migrations. This latter tribe migrated westward by various stages, till they finally settled in the basin of the middle Danube, which they occupy at the present day. It is impossible to say when the Ugrian group left their original home in the Asiatic Highlands, but they had probably reached the region of the Ural mountains in the early centuries of our era.

History. In the eleventh century the Ugrians are often mentioned as on the banks of the Volga. But the first trustworthy account of the present Ugrians is derived from Nestor, who for the year 1096 notes that they were southern neighbours of the Pechorians and Samoyeds. In 1187 the Ugrians were tributary to Novgorod, and in a chronicle of the year 1264 Yugra is mentioned as one of the districts of Novgorod. In the time of Jenghiz Khan's successors Yugria seems to have suffered from the devastations of the Mongols, as related by Plano Carpini, who in 1246 journeyed through Russia as Papal Envoy to the Mongol Grand Khan. He tells of an expedition made in 1242 by a part of Batu Khan's hordes through the country of the Mordvins, Bulgars, and Bashkirs against the Samoyeds and others as far as the Arctic coast. In 1499 Ivan Vassilyevich sent his armies into Yugria and made it a Russian province.⁵⁷ In 1571 the Tatars again endeavoured to found a new kingdom, but it was short-lived, for in 1580 the famous Russian Cossack Yermak appeared on

the scene, expelled the Tatar Khan, and conquered Yugria as well as the whole of Western Siberia.⁵⁸

a. *The Ugrian Ostyaks*

Habitat. This tribe lives along the Ob, the Irtish, and its tributaries the Konda and the Vasyugan, in the Tobolsk and the Tomsk Governments.

There are three groups of Ostyaks: the northern Ostyaks in the northern Berezovsk District; the eastern, south of Surgut and along the Vasyugan as far as its tributary the Chayanka and south-east of that river about as far as the latitude of Tomsk; and the south-western or Irtish Ostyaks in the northern part of the Tobolsk District, along the Ob, the Irtish, and the Konda. At the present day the territory of the Ostyaks is almost entirely restricted to Asia, but about a thousand years ago their lands still stretched into Eastern Europe, whence they were for the most part driven back over the Urals by the Russians. In the central provinces of Russia numerous place and river names of Ugrian origin still survive. Here the Ostyaks have almost entirely disappeared, having, where not expelled by the Russians, become merged in the neighbouring Zirian, Vogul, and Samoyed tribes; it is only in West Siberia that they remain comparatively intact.

Name. The name Ostyak has no linguistic affinity with any of the languages of the three people so called. The Ugrian Ostyaks are known simply as Ostyaks or as Ugra, Yugra. The most probable derivation of 'Ostyak' is from the Tatar word *Oushtak*, 'barbarian', by which the Tatars called all the tribes of the middle Yenisei and the Ob, when they reached the Yenisei valley in the thirteenth century. In the old Novgorod annals of the eleventh century, the Ostyaks are known by the name of Ugra. The old term Ugra or Yögra is still used by the Zirians for their neighbours the Ostyaks of the Urals. The Samoyeds call the Ostyaks *Yaran* or *Yargai* (from *Yara* 'stranger'). The general name by which the Ostyaks (as well as the Voguls) call themselves is *Mans*.

Number. The number of the Ugrian Ostyaks is given in *Asiatic Russia* (for 1911) as 18,591.⁵⁹ They seem to be decreasing, as infant mortality is high among them and they suffer much from famine.

Characteristics. The average height of the Ugrian Ostyaks

is 5 ft. 3-4 in. They are long-headed and have round flat faces, broad and rather flat noses, prominent cheek-bones, dark narrow eyes, and yellow or yellow-grey complexions. Their hair is long, smooth, and mostly black. Their beards are scanty. Owing to admixture with Russian blood, the Turanian type is, however, less marked among them, though they live almost entirely in Asia, than among the Mordvins, who live in Europe. In character they are timid, good-natured, obliging, simple, and superstitious. They are also honest where they have not been affected by civilization.

Mode of Life. The Ugrian Ostyaks are still nomads. In the south-west, where they have been most influenced by Russian colonization, they have in some places given up their wandering life, though even here they remain seasonal nomads, living in their wooden huts for the fishing season, and often for the hunting season as well.

In the northern and eastern districts they are wanderers. In winter they live in tents made of reindeer-skin and sometimes in half-underground log-huts covered with snow. In summer they live in tents made of birch-bark. During their migrations reindeer are used for drawing their wooden sledges.

Their winter dress is made chiefly of reindeer-skin, while their summer clothing consists of fish-skin, or is woven by women from the nettle plant. The dress of the Ostyaks in the Obdorsk region is practically the same as that of the Samoyeds, except that they have adopted the veiling of women from the adjacent Tatars.

Their food consists chiefly in fish (eaten raw in summer and frozen in winter) and the flesh of reindeer, the entrails of which are eaten raw, while the rest is usually cooked. They also frequently gather cranberries and cedar nuts. They are fond of drinking *vodka*.

Occupations. Their occupations are hunting, fishing, and reindeer breeding. They hunt, chiefly in winter, elk and reindeer, on snow-shoes with the aid of dogs, using old-fashioned flintlocks. In remoter districts they also employed bows and arrows recently. In winter they also fish through the ice. Very few of them engage in agriculture.

The Ostyaks are skilled in handicraft such as wood and bone carving, fine embroidery on linen, and the manufacture of ornaments with beads. They make musical instruments,

shaped either like a boat with five reindeer-sinew strings, called the *dombra* (which they consider to be their original instrument), or like a swan with nine metal strings. On these instruments they play their own original music.

Language. The Ostyak language has three or four dialects, the purest of which is said to be that which is spoken at Surgut. The dialect employed round Berezhov is so different from that round Obdorsk that the two are mutually unintelligible. The Ostyaks have no written records, but possess an oral tradition of legends and a national war epic called *Tarnin-ara*, 'the song of Tarn' (an evil anthropomorphic power). As it makes no reference to the conflicts of the Ostyaks with the Tatars who subdued them in the sixteenth century, we may infer that it originated at a period anterior to those conflicts.

Clans. Like the Samoyeds, the Ostyaks are split up into a number of small clans under patriarchal institutions, each with an elder at its head. The clan consists of a number of families of common descent who consider themselves related, and is consequently exogamous.

The clan migrates as a body on nomadic expeditions. Neighbouring clans are combined under a common chief, who is accounted a prince and whose main duty is to preserve harmony among them. This status was recognized by Katharine II (1762-96), and has been continued by the Russian Government down to the present day. The chiefship and the eldership are hereditary dignities. The national epic of the Ostyaks shows that at the time when it was composed they were already organized as a confederacy consisting of many small settlements, each with its own elder and all under a supreme chief (called *yor*, *ur*, or *urt*).

Civilization. The civilization of the Ostyaks is still very primitive. They understand counting by tens, but they have no knowledge of figures. Among them, as among the Samoyeds and other related races, marriage is concluded by the father or nearest male relative of the bride, for whom a price (*kalim*) is paid by the bridegroom. The woman has no say in the matter. She is strictly a servant, is considered unclean, and lives a life of degradation. Polygamy is allowed, but is rare nowadays because of the high price that has to be paid for the bride. The dead are interred in forests. No graves

are dug, but the body is laid on the ground and covered with skins. In the north the old custom of burying the dead in a canoe is still practised. All the belongings of the deceased are placed in his grave because of the very widely diffused belief that the departed continue to have the same wants and occupations as when alive. Both at his funeral and for some years afterwards his relatives offer reindeer on his tomb.

Religion. Many of the Ostyaks have since 1715 belonged officially to the Russian orthodox Church, but such adherence has not to any great extent influenced their Shamanistic beliefs and practices. In the Berezov and Taz districts they are even officially still classed as pagan.

There are three great gods common to all the Ostyaks. One of them is 'the old man from the mouth of the Ob', the god of all fish. The first catch of fish is offered to him every season, and many sacrifices of animals are offered and various objects are deposited where he is thought to live. He is always represented with a bow and arrows and a shield. The second is the goose god, the protector of all birds (i. e. that frequent the river Ob). The third is the god of the Konda, of whom we know very little. The principal destructive deity is Tarn, god of war, sickness, bad weather and everything injurious to life, generally regarded as a female.

The great gods are usually represented by anthropomorphic idols, which the Ostyaks seldom keep in their tents, but usually in the open air on a distant wooded height. Near these sanctuaries there is usually a Shaman, who looks after the image of the god.

Besides the great gods every Ostyak has a lesser family deity, the image of whom he keeps in his tent. These private gods are accounted tutelary deities. They accompany the Ostyak on all his wanderings and are kept in a separate sledge. Sacrifices consist in besmearing the lips of the idols with fish oil or blood, and placing a vessel with fish oil or flesh before them as nourishment. Sacrifice is regarded as a gift for service to be done, or as a reward for service already done.

Mystical properties are possessed by the swan and the goose among birds, and especially by the bear among animals. When a bear has been killed his body is placed on the ground, while the people dance round it and apologize for killing it, throwing

the blame on the Russians for having supplied them with iron arrow-heads.

The Shaman, who is not necessarily hereditary, chooses his successor, male or female. His costume is very similar to that of the Samoyed Shaman, being made of reindeer hide, with many metallic jingles. The magic drum of the Ostyak Shaman differs from the type used by the other natives along the Yenisei in being round instead of oval. It is an absolutely necessary implement to the Shaman, who is in every respect an interpreter of the gods. Conversation with a god can only be carried on by him and only by means of song and beat of drum. This ceremony is always accompanied by a sacrifice consisting of one or more reindeer. Now that the southwestern and many of the northern Ostyaks are nominal Christians, the marriage ceremonies among them are a combination of Christian and Shamanist rites.

The oath with the Ostyaks as with the Samoyeds is an act of the highest religious importance, and that which is taken on a bear's snout is the most sacred.

History. The Ostyaks have no historical records of their own, though from their legends and their national epic some inferences of an historical nature may be extracted. What we know of their history is derived from Russian chronicles. From the Novgorod annals we know that they were called Ugra in the eleventh century, when they had fights with the Novgorodians. In 1398 they are mentioned as distinct from but related to the Voguls. These two tribes are again mentioned in 1483, when a Moscow military expedition conquered their lands. When the Ostyaks were driven from their European settlements by the Russians, it is probable that they concentrated in Western Siberia, where they fought with the Samoyeds for supremacy in the region between the Urals and the Ob. These fights are vividly described in the old war epic of the Ostyaks. As a result of the conflict some of the Ostyaks were merged in the Samoyed tribes, but the bulk of the Ostyak nation still exists in the same region as they have occupied for many centuries. About 1500 the Tatars subdued the whole valley of the Irtish. In 1581 the Ostyaks succumbed to the Russians, and in 1586 the first Cossack settlement was built at the mouth of the Irtish. It was, however, only after a long and hard struggle, and not till forty-one

Ostyak villages had been destroyed that the Russians entirely subdued them. Later, the Ostyaks helped the Russians in conquering other native tribes. At the time of the Russian conquest the Ostyak territory extended much farther than it does now. Remains of their forts destroyed by the Cossacks in the sixteenth century are found in several parts of the country, many near Obdorsk. In 1897 some South Ostyak villages still spoke a Tatar language, and Mohammedan customs, such as abstention from pork and the veiling of women, prevailed. But Russian influence has revived among the Ostyaks and has been making great progress among them, chiefly in consequence of Russian women marrying Ostyak men. Hence many Ostyak villages in the Irtish region speak only Russian, and young men will not learn Ostyak, though the old men still speak it. The Russification of the Ob Ostyaks has also been extended by trade.

In the case of the Ostyaks we have an example of the partial mixture of three branches of the Turanians—Ugrian, Samoyed, and Tatar—besides intermarriage to some extent with the non-Turanian Russian.

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b. *The Voguls*

Habitat. This tribe lives on both sides of the Urals, but the bulk of them are found between the Urals and the Irtish and the Ob. Formerly they extended farther to the west and the south. Most of them are settled in the Government of Tobolsk, including the territory of the Konda, but they also extend eastwards to near the Irtish, Tavda, and Tara; westwards beyond the frontier of the Government of Perm (between the head waters of the Pechora and the Urals); in the north to the Sosva; and in the south to the Lozva.

They are closely allied to the Ugrian Ostyaks, to whom and themselves they apply the common name of *Mansi* (from the river *Man*, the scene of the Vogul deluge), as being one people. The Zirians call both by the common name of *Yögrayas*.

Number. Their numbers are about 7,000,⁶⁰ of whom about 2,000 are in Europe. Their population seems to be decreasing, partly in consequence of admixture with the Russians.

Characteristics. They differ little from the Ostyaks in

physique. They are below middle height. The face is round and flat, the cheek-bones prominent, the nose broad though not flat, the hair long and black, the beard weak, the complexion dark. The features are not markedly Turanian. The Voguls are said to be the least sociable of the Siberian tribes.

Mode of Life. Like the Ostyaks they are mostly hunters and fishers. They breed reindeer, but have few horses. Those in the southern districts practise agriculture to some extent. They are half nomads, spending the winter, like the Lapps, in wretched huts, but in summer and autumn wandering about, occupied chiefly with hunting, especially the sable. They trade with the Samoyeds, Ostyaks, and Russians, principally in furs. Their food consists chiefly of fish or the flesh of reindeer.

They usually wear Russian dress. They also weave garments of nettles, or at least did so in recent times.

Language. In their language, which is closely allied to Ostyak, two dialects may be distinguished—the northern, spoken on the upper Lozva, the northern Sosva with its tributaries, and the Ob; and the southern, spoken on the lower Lozva, the Pelinka, Vuglak, Konda, and Tavda.

Burial. When a Vogul dies his body is not taken out through the door, but through the window or a specially made hole. The graveyard is usually in a forest. The body is conveyed there by reindeer and laid in a boat or boatlike coffin. The burial is accompanied by a funeral feast.

Religion. Though the Voguls have been mostly nominal Christians for a century, they are still largely devoted to their old Shamanistic religion.

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c. Hungarians or Magyars

Habitat. The Magyars are by far the largest and most important branch of the Ugrian group. They are the dominant race in the Kingdom of Hungary. They constitute nearly 50 per cent. of its population, and are much the most numerous

and compact of its many racial elements. The country inhabited by them is a remarkable geographical unit defined on all sides by the natural boundaries of mountains (chiefly the Carpathians in the north-west, north, east, and south-east) and rivers (the Danube, Save, and Unna), and forming the basin of the Middle Danube. Most of the Magyars inhabit the major portions of two extensive plains, one of which lies to the west and south-west of Budapest and has an area of about 6,000 square miles, while the other, which lies between the Danube and Transylvania and is much larger, has an area of about 37,000 square miles. In the former is scattered a considerable German population. In the latter, however, the Magyars form a solid racial block with hardly any alien elements interspersed. The plain, which is traversed by the Theiss (Tisza) and its many tributaries, extends over the greater portion of Central and Southern Hungary.

Though in some parts covered with barren wastes of sand alternating with marshes, the plains in general present a very rich and productive soil, and form the most fertile part of the kingdom. They were occupied by the Hungarians a thousand years ago, as a territory congenial to their then nomadic habits. There is on the extreme east a compact isolated body of Magyars surrounded on all sides by the Rumanians of Transylvania and of Rumania. It embraces the three Szekel counties of Transylvania.

Name. The Hungarians call themselves *Magyars* or 'sons of the earth', and their country *Magyarország*, 'land of the Magyars', in Turkish *Magyaristan*,⁶¹ 'country of the Magyars'. But the general European name given them and their country (Latin *Hungaria*, French *Hongrie*, English *Hungary*, German *Ungarn*) is derived from Ugria, the old designation of the Ugrian territory on the Urals (see pp. 24, 51). It is preferable to use *Magyar* as an ethnological term, because 'Hungarian' may be used in the political sense of 'inhabitant of Hungary', a territory which in addition to the Magyars contains at least seven other ethnic groups—Serbians, Croats, Slovaks, Ruthenians, Rumanians, Slovenes, and Germans (besides Jews and Gipsies).

Number. The Magyar population in 1916 was 10,050,000 out of a total of 20,886,487, or slightly under one-half.⁶² The remaining population of Hungary consists mainly of six

other races distributed either in compact ethnic groups or in colonies surrounded by other nationalities. These are: Rumanians, 2,949,000; Germans, 2,037,000; Slovaks, 1,968,000; Croats, 1,833,000; Serbs, 1,006,000; Ruthenians, 473,000.⁶³ Thus in round numbers the Slavs contribute five and a half, the Rumanians three, and the Germans two millions to the population of Hungary.

Emigration. Emigration has been a very serious drain on the population of Hungary, which in the period between 1896 and 1910 lost more than one million of its inhabitants in this way. Of upwards of 150,000 Hungarians who emigrated in 1906 more than one-third were Magyars. The cause of this great outflow before the War was partly the grinding poverty of the mass of the peasantry, and partly the resentment of the subordinate races against the Magyarization to which they have long been subjected by the Government. The flow of emigration, being chiefly to the United States, has had considerable effect on the political situation in Hungary, because a proportion of the emigrants return⁶⁴ with much wealth and Americanized ideas.⁶⁵ There is also an annual emigration from the Transylvanian counties to Rumania and the Balkan territories of 4,000 to 5,000 persons. There has been a steady migration from Hungary proper of peasants and workmen into Croatia-Slavonia, where they become rapidly merged in the Croat population.

Racial Problem. The position of the Magyars in the centre of Hungary presents a racial problem of grave significance. They are here surrounded by a fringe of other nationalities which mainly occupy the circumference of the kingdom in large, compact, and uniform ethnic groups. Each of these groups is in direct touch with a kindred people living across the border of Hungary; in the east the Rumanians in Transylvania and the Banat with those in Rumania and Bukovina; in the south the Serbs and the Croats with those on the other bank of the Danube, the Save, and the Unna; in the west the Germans with those in Lower Austria and Styria; in the north the Slovaks with those in Moravia; and lastly the Ruthenes with those of Galicia who occupy the opposite slopes of the Carpathians. The disruptive tendencies within the Kingdom of Hungary, caused by differences of nationality and the repression exercised on the subject races by the Magyars, are

strengthened by the attraction of the contiguous kindred races beyond the frontiers.

Supposing at the end of the War it were proposed to form new states by the union of these alien races with their extraneous kinsmen, it is not likely that the Magyars, accustomed to a tradition of domination extending over a thousand years, would yield without strenuous resistance. As a result of such a dismemberment the Kingdom of Hungary would shrink to a territory of some 40,000 square miles with boundaries hard to defend and a population, even if the isolated German colonies were included, of not more than 10,000,000.

Characteristics. When the Hungarians arrived in their present habitat they formed an amalgam of two Turanian elements—Ugrian and Turkish.⁶⁶ Owing to their admixture with the Slavs or semi-Slavs already in possession of the country and with the very numerous foreign immigrants who from time to time settled in Hungary, the Magyars have lost their once distinctively Turanian type. They may be described as being, at the present day, of medium height, muscular, well-built, with sharply cut features, dark fiery eyes, black hair, and the darker complexion which prevails in south European countries. They are vivacious, excitable, and fiery in temperament; intelligent, good-natured, and hospitable. They have the gift of oratory, and are intensely patriotic. They are skilled riders and make very brave soldiers. They are fond of music and dancing. They have a characteristic national dance, called Csárdás, in which slow and very rapid movements alternate.

Occupations. When the Magyars entered the plains of Hungary they were nomads, but they early gave up this mode of life and adopted the settled civilization of Europe. Their main occupations are agriculture and cattle-breeding. Hungary is a pre-eminently agricultural country and one of the principal wheat-growing regions of Europe. In 1900 nearly 69 per cent. of the total population derived their maintenance from agriculture and cognate pursuits. Arable land forms nearly 43 per cent. of the total area of the country and is being constantly added to by the reclamation of the marshes, but especially by the transformation of waste prairie land. Agriculture has also made some progress by improvements in method, by the use of the most modern implements, and by

the application of scientific discoveries. Owing to its wide expanses of meadow and pasture land, which embraces 23 per cent. of the area of the country, Hungary is exceptionally well adapted for cattle-raising. In 1895 the numbers of the live stock, in round figures, in Hungary proper were: pigs $6\frac{1}{2}$, sheep $7\frac{1}{2}$, cattle 6, and horses 2 millions. The breed of Hungarian horses has been improved by government action in establishing state studs and importing foreign, especially English, stock. Forests cover 26.60 per cent. of the land of Hungary, mostly in the mountainous tracts of the Carpathians. Hence forestry gives occupation to large numbers of the population in those parts.

Industry. Native industry has been greatly developed by the state since 1867. The principal industry is flour-milling; the number of steam mills in 1905 was 1,845. Brewing and distilling have been greatly developed. The sugar industry has made great strides, the amount of beetroot used having increased tenfold between 1880 and 1905. Other principal industries are: the manufacture of agricultural machinery and implements, leather, glass, and earthenware, cotton and woollen goods, chemicals, tobacco (a government monopoly), iron foundries, petroleum refineries, and paper mills. In 1900 2,605,000 persons, or $13\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of the total population, were dependent on industries for their livelihood in the Kingdom of Hungary.

Commerce. Hungary forms with Austria a single customs and commercial territory. In 1907 the imports amounted to £66,000,000 and the exports to £64,700,000; of the former 75 to 80 per cent. came from Austria, and of the latter 75 per cent. went to Austria. The imports were chiefly cotton, woollen, silk and leather goods, clothes, haberdashery, and linen. The exports, consisting of flour, wheat, maize, barley, wine in barrels, beef, cattle, pigs, horses, clearly indicate the predominantly agricultural character of the country.

Government. Hungary is a constitutional monarchy under an hereditary king, who is at the same time Emperor of Austria. Beyond this personal union the two states are independent of one another, each having its own constitution, legislature, and administration. The constitution is superficially analogous to that of Great Britain, especially in being based on no written document, but on immemorial prescription,

confirmed or modified from time to time by a series of enactments. The earliest and most famous of these was the *Golden Bull* of Andrew III, the Magna Carta of Hungary, which dates from 1222, only seven years later than the English Magna Carta of King John. The ancient constitution was reformed under the influence of Western liberalism in 1848. It secured the supremacy of the Magyar race by a franchise so narrow that it wholly excludes the representation of the working classes in Parliament. Suspended after the collapse of the Hungarian revolt in 1849, the constitution was restored in 1867 under the terms of the Compromise (*Ausgleich*) with Austria. The legislative power is vested in Parliament, which consists of two houses—the Upper, or House of Magnates, and the Lower, or House of Representatives (who are elected for five years and are paid). The official language here is Magyar, but delegates of Croatia-Slavonia may speak in their own tongue. The executive power is vested in a responsible cabinet of ten ministers.

Religion. Most of the Hungarians, 49 per cent., are Roman Catholics (Magyars, Slovaks, Germans, and Croats); 14 per cent. are Calvinists (Magyars); 13 per cent. adhere to the Orthodox Greek Church (Serbs and Rumanians); 11 per cent. are Uniates (Rumanians and Ruthenians); 7 per cent. are Lutherans (Slovaks and Germans); 5 per cent. are Jews.⁶⁷ Perfect equality is accorded to all religions and creeds.

Language. The Hungarian or Magyar language is akin to those of the four other divisions of the Turanian family of speech—the Samoyed, the Tungus, the Mongolian, and the Turkish. There are two groups of words that afford evident proofs of this linguistic kinship—the names of parts of the body, and the numerals. Another evidence of relationship is the fact that in these languages a word regularly begins with one vowel or one single consonant, but never with a group of consonants, as is often the case in the Indo-European languages. The specifically Turanian feature of vowel harmony is more consistently followed in the Hungarian, Finnish, and Turkish languages than in any of the others. It is also to be noticed that the main accent in Hungarian, Balto-Finnic, Lappish, and Vogul is always on the first syllable. There is in particular very extensive evidence of kinship between Finno-Ugrian and Turkish in the use of possessive personal endings.⁶⁸ Thus, ●

although the Magyars have for a thousand years been established in Europe, and subjected to Aryan influences, their language has nevertheless retained its essential Turanian features.

Literature. The Latin alphabet was introduced among the Magyars in the eleventh century by Christian teachers from Venice, and their earliest literary productions appeared in the twelfth century. But it was not till the dawn of the Reformation that the Hungarians began to substitute their own language for Latin as a literary vehicle, a native Magyar literature commencing to develop between the years 1437 and 1530. From this period dates the text of the oath taken by John Hunyadi when he was elected governor of Hungary (1446), and the translation of the four gospels completed in 1466. To the next period (1530–1606) belong several Magyar translations of the scriptures. During the seventeenth and the greater part of the eighteenth centuries the progress of the national literature was checked by the Germanizing influences at work under the Hapsburg dynasty. The end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth saw the regeneration of the native literature and the revival of the native language. The establishment of the Hungarian Academy in 1830 marks the beginning of an epoch in which gigantic efforts were made to raise the intellectual life of the nation by the cultivation of the native language and literature. Not only has there been since then a great advance and increase in the production of works of pure literature and of learned and scientific books of all descriptions, but also of periodical literature. Thus in 1830 there appeared only ten Magyar periodical publications, but in 1895 there were 806.⁶⁹

History. The migrations of the Magyars, before they appeared on the stage of history a thousand years ago, are obscure. Early settled on the Urals, they moved westward under the pressure of other tribes. They first migrated to the Volga, where they formed part of the kingdom of the Bulgars. After the overthrow of the latter and of their successors the Khazars, the Magyars settled in the territory now called Bessarabia, Bukovina, and Moldavia. Driven hence by the Allied Bulgars and Pechenegs, their seven independent tribes combined under the leadership of a single chief named Arpad, and crossed in the district of the Verecze Pass, into the region of the Upper Theiss in 895. Here they must have felt at

home, for many parts of these low-lying lands resemble the steppe regions of Central Asia.⁷⁰ The country now called Hungary was at that time for the most part occupied by an Aryan population, chiefly Slavs or semi-Slavs. The Magyars first overthrew the kingdom of Moravia (founded c. 850); the Bulgars, Serbs, Croats, and Avars, in the southern parts, were next subdued, and Arpad completed the conquest of the whole country by 906. This forcible intrusion of a non-Aryan race altered the whole history of Europe. A striking result was the dislocation of the great Slav people by separating the northern from the southern, and the eastern from the western branches. One of the consequences of this rupture was the Teutonization of the western Slavs, who no longer able to stand alone, and cut off from both Rome and Constantinople, were compelled to take Christianity and civilization along with it from Germany.

The arrival of the Magyars in Hungary was soon followed by a period, extending over more than half a century, of devastating raids which made their savage horsemen the terror and scourge of Europe. They ravaged Thuringia, Bavaria, and Swabia; Lotharingia and Burgundy; penetrated into Italy as far as Otranto; and invaded the Eastern Empire, being bought off only under the very walls of Constantinople. This state of things was put an end to by the overwhelming defeat which the Magyars suffered on the Lech in 955 while they were besieging Augsburg.

Stephen I, one of the great constructive statesmen of history, was the real founder of the Magyar dominion by establishing firmly the Hungarian State and the Hungarian Church. Though his predecessor had been baptized, Stephen was the first Hungarian ruler under whom Christianity was introduced among the people. He also set about civilizing the country with the aid of foreign monks, who instructed the Magyars in agriculture, arts, and handicrafts. The monks were followed by foreign husbandmen, artificers, and handicraftsmen who, encouraged by reports of abundant land, settled in the country. Immigration was further stimulated by the bad harvests and the epidemics that prevailed in Europe from 987-1060. By the end of Stephen's reign Hungary came to be regarded as a promised land in which peoples of all religions and nationalities dwelt together in security.

Stephen broke up the tribal system⁷¹ and encouraged the private ownership of the soil, making grants of land for military service, not however on the basis of feudalism, but on that of the organization of the Frankish Empire. He borrowed the county system, which even now plays a prominent part in Hungarian national life. He divided Central and Western Hungary into a number of counties to be ruled by counts or lord-lieutenants nominated by the king and liable to military service. But Stephen made no attempt to weld into a united nation the various races combined under his crown. Non-Magyars were governed by the lord-lieutenants as subject races forming the mass of the peasants who down to 1848 bore nearly the entire burden of taxation.

Hungarian life was still simple and primitive: the king's property chiefly consisted of flocks and herds, or the products of the labour of his serfs. But by the end of the century that elapsed between their entry into Hungary and Stephen's accession, the Magyars had been transformed from pure nomads into a settled people; and even in those parts of the country where nomadism survived longer it had by the middle of the eleventh century practically ceased to exist.⁷²

During the rest of the eleventh century the Hungarian kings were engaged in almost incessant fighting. In 1046 and 1061 two dangerous pagan risings took place, followed by the attacks of fierce barbarian hordes—the Pechenegs in 1067–8 and the Kumanians in 1071–2. Under Ladislaus and Koloman the Hungarian dominions were extended by the conquest of Croatia and a portion of the Dalmatian coast. Ladislaus planted large colonies of Pechenegs in Transylvania and the Trans-Dravian provinces. Under the rule of Koloman, who greatly encouraged agriculture and trade, Hungary is said to have been the best governed state in Europe.

In the twelfth century Hungarian history was chiefly characterized by the interference of the Eastern Empire with Magyar affairs, resulting politically in the increase of the power of the nobility, and ecclesiastically in the diminution of the influence of the Catholic Church.

The thirteenth century was marked by two very important events. The first was the enactment of the *Golden Bull*, the foundation⁷³ of Hungarian constitutional liberty. The chief aim was to strengthen the Crown by uniting its interests

with those of the mass of the Magyar nobility against the encroachments of the great barons. It includes among other provisions the anti-feudal prohibition of heredity in the title and estates of lord-lieutenants and the exemption of the nobles from all taxation.

The other outstanding event of the thirteenth century was the Tatar invasion in 1241-2. This was followed by a wholesale immigration into the country. Kumanians, mostly pagans, settled in Hungary in vast numbers, threatening to overwhelm the Christian population.

In the year 1301 the house of Arpad came to an end, destroyed by the rise of the great nobles to power and a recognized position. During the four centuries of the rule of this dynasty the nomadic Magyar race had established itself permanently in Central Europe, adopted Western Christianity, and founded a national monarchy on the Western model.

Under the house of Anjou (1310-82) the Hungarian State was built up again, and the Magyars were led back to civilization. In 1370 Poland was added to the Hungarian throne, and during the next twelve years the dominions of King Louis included the greater part of Central Europe from Pomerania to the Danube, from the Adriatic to the Steppes of the Dnieper. On the other hand, Hungary suffered during the fourteenth century from various disasters, losses, and new perils. Hungary was twice ravaged (1347-60, 1380-1) by the Black Death, which carried off at least one-fourth of the population. The Vlachs (or Rumanians) of Moldavia (which together with Bessarabia and the Bukovina the Hungarians had ever since the eleventh century claimed as part of their original home before they entered modern Hungary) threw off the Hungarian yoke. King Louis was compelled in 1353 to acknowledge the ruler of the Bosnians as King of Bosnia, while both the Serbians and the Bulgarians refused to acknowledge the hegemony of Hungary. In the middle of the fourteenth century a new danger began to threaten the kingdom. The Ottoman Turks in 1353 crossed the Hellespont from Asia Minor and began that career of conquest which made them the terror of Europe, and in particular of Hungary, down to the end of the seventeenth century. They conquered Southern Bulgaria in 1365, overpowered Serbia in 1371, and threatened Croatia and Dalmatia in 1380.

The Turkish peril became acute under Sigismund (1387-1437), who made it the chief aim of his policy to expel the Turks from Europe, or at least to keep them out of Hungary. For this purpose he endeavoured in 1413 to unite Christendom against the Turks, and thrice himself met them in the field. He also fortified the southern frontier and turned a small fort, the later Belgrade, into an enormous first-class fortress, which proved strong enough to repel the Turks for more than a century. In spite of wars and rebellions Hungary made some progress during his reign. Magyar students at this time began to resort to foreign universities in considerable numbers; thus between 1362 and 1450 no fewer than 4,151 frequented Vienna, and nearly as many Prague, though there were already two universities in Hungary itself.

Sigismund's successor Albert renewed hostilities in 1439 against the Turks, who had captured an important fortress in Serbia and subjugated the greater part of Bosnia. The Magyars under John Hunyadi defeated the Turks in 1442, but were in turn beaten at Varna in 1444. Hunyadi, who in 1446 had been elected governor of Hungary, relieved Belgrade in 1454 and overthrew the Turkish army. Hunyadi's son, Matthias, was elected King of Hungary in 1458. He raised an army of first-rate efficiency, which also acted as a civilizing force by curbing the lawlessness of the Magyar nobility. Politically, Matthias raised Hungary to the rank of the greatest Power in Central Europe. He succeeded in preserving the territorial integrity of Hungary against the Turk. But throughout his reign the Czechs and Germans were just as dangerous to his country as the Turks. After his death in 1490 the Magnates plunged the country back into the chaos of mediaevalism. There followed a period which was the most discreditable in the whole course of Hungarian history.

In 1514 took place a terrible peasant rising, of which the enslavement of the Hungarian peasantry was the immediate consequence. The labouring class was converted into a sullenly hostile force within the state. To this has been mainly due the impossibility, from that time onwards, of a healthy political life in Hungary.

The pressure of the Turks now began to be more serious than ever. In 1521 Sultan Suleiman succeeded in capturing Belgrade, and in 1526 inflicted on the Magyars a complete

defeat on the plain of Mohacz. He returned to his dominions with 105,000 captives and an enormous amount of booty, after utterly devastating one-fourth of Hungary. In 1541 Suleiman again invaded Hungary and captured Buda, finally agreeing in 1547 to a five years' truce, for which the Hapsburg emperor paid £100,000. The outcome was the division of the kingdom of Hungary into three parts, the Emperor holding thirty-five counties, the Hungarian ruler, with the title of prince, retaining Transylvania and the sixteen adjacent counties, while the rest, comprising most of the central counties, was annexed to the Turkish Empire. This division, in which the aims and interests of the parts were totally divergent, continued for more than 150 years. Two fresh Turkish invasions took place in 1552 and 1566, resulting in the capture of many forts. The suspension of hostilities was brought about by the truce of Adrianople which, concluded in 1568, was prolonged till 1593 and consequently called the 'Long Peace'. It is probably no exaggeration to say that no nation ever suffered more from the effects of foreign invasions combined with the misgovernment of its rulers than the Hungarians in the sixteenth century. Their plight was aggravated by the hostility of the Hapsburgs, who were determined to rule the Magyars from Vienna by means of foreigners, mainly German and Czech. To all these evils were added the terrors of religious persecution. The Reformation had in 1552 obtained complete recognition in Transylvania. But with the entry of the Jesuits was inaugurated a fierce persecution, the deliberate object of which was the extirpation of Protestantism. But as the latter was by this time identical with Magyarism, the very existence of the Magyars as a nation was now threatened. A better day, however, dawned with the Peace of Vienna, concluded in 1606 by Stephen Bocskay of Transylvania. This treaty secured for the Magyars of Royal Hungary religious liberty, political autonomy, and complete amnesty. It is remarkable as the first constitutional compact between the ruling dynasty and the Hungarian nation.

Almost equally important was the twenty years' truce of Zsitvatörök, which was negotiated by Bocskay between the Emperor and the Sultan. This arrangement for the first time established a working equilibrium between the three parts of Hungary, with a decided preponderance in favour of Transyl-

vania. For more than half a century after the Peace of Vienna Transylvania thus became a bulwark of the liberties of the Magyars.

During these fifty years the Turkish Empire in consequence of misrule was powerless to interfere in Hungarian politics. But in 1657 the Turks again became active and occupied Transylvania, which in 1661 became a feudatory of the Turkish Empire. In 1684 the Treaty of Vasvár gave Hungary a respite from regular Turkish invasions for a space of twenty years.

Meanwhile the Catholic reaction in Hungary, begun in 1601 on the plan of converting the great families, proved so successful that in 1665 only four noble Protestant houses remained in Royal Hungary, and the country was completely Catholicized.

Under the Hapsburg Emperor Leopold I (1657-1705) the Hungarian gentry were subjected to cruel oppression as members of an inferior and guilty race.

The activities of the Turks were renewed in 1683 with the siege of Vienna, which was, however, unsuccessful. Their aggressive power was now on the wane. They were successively driven out of Buda in 1686, Belgrade in 1688, and Bosnia in 1689. Though they rallied and threatened Vienna anew, they were defeated in 1691, and in 1697 were routed by Prince Eugene of Savoy at Zenta. The Peace of Karlowitz, concluded in 1699, left the whole of Hungary (except an insignificant amount of territory) in the hands of the Emperor, finally reuniting her long separated provinces under a common sceptre. This year marks the final deliverance of Hungary from Turkish dominion.

Liberation from the Turks, however, brought the Hungarians no internal relief. Leopold had in 1687 transformed the elective monarchy of Hungary into an hereditary one, and the Peace of Karlowitz only strengthened the despotism prevailing in the land of the Magyars. The situation was aggravated by the determination of the Primate Kollonich to Germanize Hungary by wholesale immigration into the recovered provinces. A rising of malcontents in 1703 was followed in 1711 by the Peace of Szátmár, which guaranteed a general amnesty, full religious liberty, and the recognition of the inviolability of the ancient rights and privileges of the Magyars. By this settlement the Hungarian nation secured all it had won by former compacts with the Hapsburgs. Now began a new period in which the interests of the dynasty and of the nation

were identical, and in which the Magyars enjoyed the advantages of domestic tranquillity and recuperation for nearly a century and a half.

By the Pragmatic Sanction, which secured the female succession of Maria Theresa, Hungary became an integral part of the Hapsburg dominions.

A standing army under the control of the Austrian council of war had hardly been established in 1715 when a new Turkish war broke out in the following year. Though the Magyars were victorious (1716-18) and gained a considerable amount of territory, nearly all their conquests were lost again in a fresh conflict in 1739.

Now followed forty years of enlightened absolutism, in which educational reform was promoted in Hungary, schools and colleges being founded all over the country.

The well-meaning but misguided policy of Joseph II (1780-90), under whom an edict making German the official language of the common state of Austria-Hungary was passed and a census for the purpose of taxation was introduced, led to a dangerous rebellion. His successor Leopold (1790-2) found the country on the verge of revolution, but by his wisdom won back the Magyars. The Diet of 1790-1 passed laws confirming the royal prerogatives and the national liberties. Hungary was declared a free, independent, and unsubjugated country, governed by its own laws and customs. Legislation was to be exercised by the King and the Diet conjointly and by them only. Diets were to be triennial. Latin was still to be the official language, but Magyar was now to be introduced into universities and schools.

The bonds between the Magyar nation and the Hapsburg dynasty were drawn closer by the struggle between Francis I (1792-1835) and the French Revolution, and were strengthened by Napoleon's mutilations of Hungary. Though towards the end of his reign the forces of reactionary absolutism were everywhere supreme, a strong undercurrent in the opposite direction was beginning to run in preparation for future emancipation. Thus when in 1823 a war-tax was imposed and recruits were called out without consulting the Diet, the counties instantly protested against this as an attack on the constitution. In 1832 there was a large majority of Liberals in the House of Representatives, but their activities were

frustrated by the Upper House, in which the Magnates united with the government to form a Conservative party.

On the accession of Ferdinand I (1835-48), the government, becoming alarmed, attempted to crush the reform movement by arresting and imprisoning the leading agitators, the chief of whom was Louis Kossuth. But in 1839 the Liberals succeeded in passing two important measures—one making Magyar the official language of Hungary, and the other freeing the peasants' holdings from all feudal obligations.

The Liberals under Kossuth in 1843 gained fresh triumphs in the Diet; Magyar was now declared to be the language of the schools and law-courts as well as of the legislature; mixed marriages were legalized; and official positions were thrown open to those who were not members of the nobility.

In the next few years a disintegration of the Liberal party set in, but in 1848 Deák reunited all the Liberals on the common platform of the 'Ten Points'. These, under the name of the 'March Laws', were adopted by the legislature and received the royal assent. Hungary thus became to all intents and purposes an independent state.

Though the Magyars were supported by the German democrats, who were in temporary power in Vienna, there was an ominous stirring of the subject races in Hungary itself. Croats, Vlachs (Rumanians), Serbs, Slovaks, resented Magyar domination, which had been carefully secured under the revolutionary constitution by means of a very narrow franchise. Each of these races hoped that out of the chaos then prevailing it might succeed in creating for itself a separate national existence. Slav aspirations soon adopted the deliberate policy of a federal system as opposed to the Magyar-Austrian dualism in favour at Pest and Vienna. Even the Imperial Government was induced to declare publicly at Vienna that the basis of the Austrian State was 'the recognition of the equal rights of all nationalities'. This at once roused the Hungarian Liberals. In July the Diet, under Kossuth, refused supply for the Croatian troops, and consented to sending reinforcements to the Imperial forces in Italy only on condition that the anti-Magyar races in Hungary should be first disarmed. The Croatians at once declared open war on Hungary by crossing the Drave with an army of 36,000 men. This placed the extreme revolutionaries in power at Pest. After the defeat of the Croatians on Septem-

ber 29, a large force of Hungarian militia was sent to the aid of the German revolutionaries in Vienna, but they were defeated, and the Vienna revolution collapsed. In December, 1848, Ferdinand abdicated in favour of his nephew Francis Joseph, then aged eighteen. But the Hungarian Diet refused to acknowledge him, on the ground that without the consent of the Diet no one could sit on the Hungarian throne. The nation was called to arms, Louis Kossuth meanwhile being the actual ruler of Hungary. In the ensuing warfare the Austrians were at first successful, but the Hungarian leader, Girgei, afterwards gained the upper hand. On April 14, 1849, the Diet proclaimed the independence of Hungary, excluded the house of Hapsburg from the throne, and elected Kossuth President of the Hungarian Republic. This step resulted in an alliance between Austria and Russia. One of the Hungarian armies was defeated by the Austrians, and the other surrendered to the Russians, while Kossuth took refuge in Turkish territory.

Hungary was now placed under martial law, under which the country was subjected to wholesale confiscations and brutalities. Six years (1851-6) of pure terrorism were succeeded by the Bach system of ruling the Magyars. Not recognizing historical Hungary, it postulated an Empire consisting of one common indivisible State, of which mutilated Hungary (shorn of Transylvania, Croatia and Slavonia, Fiume and the Temes Banat) formed only an important section. The supreme government was entrusted to an imperial council responsible to the Emperor alone, while the counties were administered by imperial officials—Germans, Czechs, and Galicians—who did not even understand the Magyar tongue. As the Magyar nation refused to recognize this system, it was offered a shadowy constitution and autonomy in the 'October Diploma'. The Hungarian leader, Deák, however, demanded the restoration of the constitution of 1848 in its entirety, and the Diet of 1861 adopted an address to the crown praying for the restoration of the political and territorial integrity of Hungary, a full restitution of the fundamental laws, and a public coronation of the king. The reply to this was the dissolution of the Diet and the levying of taxes by military execution. The attitude of the Emperor was, however, fundamentally modified by the Peace of Prague, concluded at the end of the Austro-Prussian War in 1866. The exclusion of

Austria from Italy and Germany made the fate of the Hapsburg monarchy depend on some permanent arrangement with Hungary. The result was the Compromise (*Ausgleich*) of 1867, which practically consisted of an amplification of the March laws of 1848. A public coronation of the king took place on June 8. Hungary was now a free and independent state.

Since 1867 the Magyars have been divided, broadly speaking, into two parties—those who accept the Compromise, believing it to have increased the political influence of Hungary; and those who see in the Compromise an abandonment of the essentials of independence, and aim at the restoration of the conditions established in 1848.

Count Andrassy was instrumental in preventing the Imperial Chancellor, Beust, from intervening in favour of France in the Franco-German War of 1870. In the following year he succeeded Beust as Foreign Minister, the first instance of a Hungarian statesman attaining to this position under the Hapsburg dynasty. It was fortunate that, in the hopeless political confusion prevailing in Hungary at that time, Count Tisza, the leader of the Liberal party, succeeded to power in 1872. During the next eighteen years he practically ruled Hungary as a dictator. The chief aim of his policy was to transform the old polyglot Hungarian kingdom into a homogeneous Magyar state. With this object in view he succeeded in putting an end to the old strife between Catholics and Protestants by uniting them in a common zeal for a race ideal. He also did much to promote the astonishing material progress made by Hungary during the last fifty years. Though it must be admitted that the political corruption of Hungary has been mainly due to him, he undoubtedly deserves the credit of having placed the country on a sound economic basis. It was his statesman-like temper that made Hungary a power in the affairs of Europe. It was also largely his influence that restrained the anti-Russian ardour of the Magyars on the outbreak of the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-8. The following nine years were devoted to the financial and commercial rehabilitation of Hungary by developing a vast system of railways, and by other measures. This was chiefly the work of Gábor Baross, who entered the cabinet in 1886, and was Hungary's greatest finance minister.

The attacks made on Count Tisza during the debate on the

Kossuth Repatriation Bill led to his resignation. The ministries that followed were of brief duration. Bánffy, in 1894, carried through the Army Education Bill, the aim of which was to Magyarize the whole Hungarian portion of the joint army; but he was so violently attacked on the proposal to renew the commercial convention with Austria that he resigned in 1899. The treaty was, however, renewed till 1903.

The proposal made in 1902 to raise the contingent of Hungarian recruits by 15,000 revived the question of a common Austro-Hungarian army. Parliament refused to pass the Bill except in return for the introduction of the Hungarian national flag into Hungarian regiments, and the substitution of Magyar for German in words of command. The king, however, refused to yield his prerogative under the Compromise of 1867, and reaffirmed the rights of the crown to maintain German as a common military language. Count István Tisza tried to carry out the programme of the king and the majority, but failed. He appealed to the country, but was utterly defeated. The repressive measures which the Government thereupon resorted to—censorship, restriction of the right of public meeting, dismissal of officials, dragooning of assemblies and municipalities—were steadily met by the Magyar nation with a refusal to pay taxes, to supply recruits, and to carry on the machinery of administration. The main object of the resistance was to impose, by coercion, or if necessary by corruption, the Magyar language and Magyar culture on the non-Magyar races of Hungary. As a remedy for this state of affairs a coalition government was formed, which, having agreed with the crown to postpone military questions, put forward the proposal of universal suffrage, so as to obtain the opinion of the whole people on the points at issue between them and the crown. In the ensuing election the Liberal party was practically wiped out, and the coalition cabinet remained in office for two years and a half without carrying out its programme. Meanwhile, all the abuses previously prevailing were continued—muzzling of the press in the interests of Magyar nationalism, imprisonment of non-Magyar deputies, and persecution of subordinate races. In October, 1907, there was a great demonstration in favour of universal suffrage, followed by riots at Budapest. Finally, in November, 1908, Count Andrassy introduced a Bill granting manhood suffrage, but with so many qualifying con-

ditions as to make its effect nugatory. Among its neutralizing features were plural voting and the absence of the ballot. Its intention was at once recognized as Magyar domination rather than fulfilment of the contract. Had it passed, it would only have strengthened the Magyar and the German elements in the electorate. A crisis arose in 1909 on the question of a separate Hungarian bank, in view of the expiry, at the end of 1910, of the Charter of the Austro-Hungarian State Bank. It was proposed to open negotiations for a convention between the banks of Austria and of Hungary, and in the case of failure to establish a Bank of Hungary entirely dissociated from that of Austria. The Emperor opposed this scheme on the ground that electoral reform, the chief article of the ministerial programme, had not been carried out. Dissensions broke out in the cabinet in regard to the separate bank and the Magyarization of the Hungarian regiments. As the King-Emperor refused to make any concessions to the Magyar national demands, the Hungarian Parliament was adjourned indefinitely at the end of the year without even voting the estimates for 1910. Hungary thus once more entered on a period of extra-constitutional government.

The most important event in 1910 was the collapse of the Coalition and the accession to power of the new 'National Party of work'. A cabinet of moderate views was formed, but was met with a vote of want of confidence. The following general election gave the government a triumphant majority. The King in June announced that a Bill would be laid before the Chamber 'on the basis of universal suffrage and in complete maintenance of the unitary national character of the Hungarian state'. A new constitution was also promulgated for the provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina which had been annexed in 1908. A proposal to increase the Austrian Army and Navy was further announced.

The renewal of the Charter of the Austro-Hungarian State Bank, which had expired at the end of 1910, again led to the Independent party pleading for Hungary having a bank of its own. The general election held in June, 1911; made the Social Democrats the predominant party in the Diet. In this year a protest was made against the German dues exacted from Austro-Hungarian shipping on the Elbe, while a strong feeling was aroused regarding the Italian attack on Turkish torpedo-boats near Prevesa on the Albanian coast.

A resolution was passed by the Kossuth group that reservists should not in future be called out in time of peace unless the annual levy of recruits had been previously passed by the Chamber; but on the King threatening to abdicate the resolution was dropped. A two years' military service Bill was passed; and a Bill to increase the annual contingent of Honved recruits was adopted, but amid scenes of great violence. On December 31, 1912, was produced the long-expected Reform Bill (delayed since 1905), by which the number of voters was increased by 75 per cent. of what it then was.

On March 8, 1913, the Franchise Reform Bill was passed. It was in almost every detail marked by a determination to maintain at all costs the hegemony of the Magyar element. Disturbances in Croatia were allayed by an arrangement allowing the use of the Croatian language on Croatian railways.

On June 28, 1914, the murder of the Archduke Francis Ferdinand and his wife took place at Sarajevo, the capital of Bosnia. This crime being treated as the result of a Serbian conspiracy, a peremptory note of unprecedented harshness was on July 23 presented to Serbia requiring a reply by 6 p.m. on July 25. Serbia accepted the conditions 'in principle', but suggested arbitration. Diplomatic relations were at once broken off, and though Sir E. Grey proposed arbitration by the four Great Powers, war was declared on Serbia by Austria-Hungary on July 28.

a. The Hungarians, who were once the bitter enemies of the Turks and were subject to their rule for a century and a half, have for the first time become the allies of the Turks in the present war. It is noteworthy that there is a marked parallelism between the position of the Hungarians and the Ottoman Turks as nations. Both are members of the Turanian family. They are the only two members of that family that have shown themselves capable of founding and maintaining independent states for centuries. Both have lost their original racial characteristics by constant admixture with non-Turanian elements, but have both nevertheless preserved their original Turanian languages which are closely akin. Both have about the same populations (c. 20,000,000), of which scarcely 50 per cent. are Hungarians and Turks (cp. pp. 59 and 212), the rest of the inhabitants of their states being made up of a number of alien races. Both aim at preserving their own

nationality intact by repressing the peoples subject to them. Both are predominantly agricultural and both are warlike. There might thus seem to be the possibility of a natural feeling of solidarity between the two nations. It is, however, doubtful whether they will ever be drawn together except by motives of expediency and self-interest. It is true that during the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-8 the Magyars showed strong sympathy with the Turks, but this was most probably due to the anti-Russian feeling caused by the part Russia had played in suppressing the Magyar revolution of 1849. On the other hand, there was in the earlier period of Turanian studies a distinct bias among Magyar philologists against recognizing close kinship with other Turanians as representing a lower grade of civilization. Again, the languages, though akin, are mutually unintelligible; and difference of religion, combined with historical associations, profoundly divides the two peoples. The Turk, on the other hand, is more and more tending to reject European culture and influence. Thus the alliance of the two Turanian elements, in association with the two Germanic nations of the Central Empires, is likely to continue on a utilitarian basis only.

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NOTES

¹ This is analogous to the transition of meaning, in Vedic Sanskrit, of *Dyāus* (gen. *dyāvś*; Greek, *Ζεύς*, gen. *Διός*), the sense of which is both 'sky' and 'god of the sky'.

² See Jordanes, *Getae*, 23.

³ Cp. Müllenhof, *Deutsche Alterthumskunde*, 3, p. 16.

⁴ Cp. V. Thomsen, *Ueber den Einfluss der germanischen Sprachen auf die finnisch-lappischen* (translated into German by E. Sievers), 1870; Karsten, *Finnisch-ugrische Forschungen*, 2, pp. 192 ff.

⁵ *Die ältere Eisenzeit in Finnland*, 1905.

⁶ See Uhland, *Schriften*, 6, 398 ff.; Müllenhof, *Deutsche Alterthumskunde*, 2, 48; Gering, *Ueber Weissagung und Zauber im nordischen Altertum*, 1902, p. 10.

⁷ See Weinhold, *Altnordisches Leben*, 100; Wackernagel, *Zeitschrift für deutsches Alterthum*, 9, p. 563.

⁸ According to Meyer, *Konversationslexikon*, vol. xxii (1909-10), p. 296, the total population of Finland in 1907 was 2,974,804. If 14 per cent. be deducted for the Swedish population, the Finns would then number over 2½ millions.

⁹ See Meyer's *Konversationslexikon*, 1907, vol. xvii, p. 294.

¹⁰ Szinnyei, *Finnisch-ugrische Sprachwissenschaft*, Buda-Pest, 1910, p. 14; according to the 1907 figures in Meyer, *op. cit.*, this total would have been 2,800,000.

¹¹ Cp. Meyer, *Konversationslexikon*, vol. vi (1904), p. 581.

¹² These are the figures given in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, vol. x, p. 390; but in vol. xxiii, p. 874, the Karelian population of Russia is given as 208,000, and that of the Finns as 143,000. Szinnyei also gives the total number of the Karelians as about 208,000 (p. 15).

¹³ Castrén, *Ethnologische Vorlesungen*, p. 147.

¹⁴ This is the name by which the Swedes still call the Finns.

¹⁵ Abercromby, *Pre- and Proto-historic Finns*, i, 5.

¹⁶ Abercromby, *op. cit.*, i, 6.

¹⁷ Szinnyei, *Finnisch-ugrische Sprachwissenschaft*, Leipzig, 1910, p. 16.

¹⁸ Cp. Abercromby, *op. cit.*, i, 6; Szinnyei, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

¹⁹ According to Szinnyei, *op. cit.*, p. 17, scarcely one-fifth (i.e. 6,000) of the Lapps are nomadic and occupied with reindeer breeding.

²⁰ Hence Szinnyei, *op. cit.*, p. 17, asserts that though the language of the Lapps is very closely connected with that of the Baltic Finns, the Lapps are anthropologically not akin to the latter, being in this respect quite isolated. He therefore assumes that they originally spoke another language, and borrowed their present speech from a Finno-Ugrian tribe. But can their physical divergences not be accounted for by the rigorous climatic influences to which they have been subjected for perhaps 2,000 years? Cp. next note.

²¹ From this it may be inferred that in earlier times the physical difference between Lapps and Finns was not marked, though it is so now.

²² Szinnyei, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

²³ See above, p. 34; Castrén, *Ethnologische Vorlesungen*, p. 138.

²⁴ Castrén, *op. cit.*, p. 138.

- ²⁵ In 1897 the Permyaks and the Zirians together numbered 258,309.
- ²⁶ Cp. below, note 31.
- ²⁷ Cp. Castrén, *Ethnologische Vorlesungen (Der Permische Stamm)*, p. 136.
- ²⁸ Cp. note 25, and Szinnyei, *op. cit.*, p. 13. The *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, vol. xxvi, p. 317, gives their number as only 86,000.
- ²⁹ Abercromby, *op. cit.*, i, 32.
- ³⁰ In addition to these about 50,000 were owned by Samoyeds.
- ³¹ Grammars of the Zirian language have been published by Castrén, Helsingfors, 1844; v. d. Gabelentz, *Grundzüge der Syrjänischen Grammatik*, Altenburg, 1841; Wiedemann, *Grammatik der Syrjänischen Sprache*, St. Petersburg, 1844; also a dictionary by the latter scholar: *Syrjänisch-deutsches Wörterbuch*, 1880-1.
- ³² Szinnyei, *op. cit.*, p. 13.
- ³³ According to Castrén, *Ethnologische Vorlesungen*, p. 137, there are also a few of them in the Governments of Kazan and Orenburg.
- ³⁴ Szinnyei, *op. cit.*, p. 13; Scobel (1909) states their number to be about 250,000; Castrén, *Ethnologische Vorlesungen*, p. 137, about 200,000.
- ³⁵ *Op. cit.*, pp. 136-42. ³⁶ Scobel, *op. cit.*
- ³⁷ Castrén, *op. cit.*, p. 141. ³⁸ Castrén, *op. cit.*, p. 137.
- ³⁹ Byzantine writers refer to the Danube Bulgarians as a purely nomad people: Vambéry, *Ungarn*, p. 56. A Slav text describes the early history of these Bulgarians from the time of their appearance in the fifth century down to A.D. 765: *op. cit.*, p. 57.
- ⁴⁰ Some traces of this are, however, still to be found.
- ⁴¹ Vambéry, *Ungarn*, pp. 55-60, adduces a considerable amount of evidence to show that the original national character of the Old Bulgarians was Turkish, and that their language has been preserved in the form of Chuvash. Arab writers describe the Volga Bulgars as half nomads, who had wooden houses, but in summer changed their dwellings.
- ⁴² Szinnyei, *op. cit.* ⁴³ Castrén, *op. cit.*, p. 135.
- ⁴⁴ *Ibid.* ⁴⁵ *Ibid.* ⁴⁶ Szinnyei, *op. cit.*, p. 114.
- ⁴⁷ According to Schubert (1835), their numbers were 92,000; to Köppen (*Russlands Gesamtbevölkerung, 1838*, St. Petersburg, 1843), 388,111.
- ⁴⁸ Castrén, *op. cit.*, p. 134.
- ⁴⁹ Szinnyei, *op. cit.*, p. 13; according to Castrén, *Ethn. Vorlesungen* (written in 1851), p. 133, the Cheremisses numbered about 200,000, which is, however, perhaps only an uncertain estimate.
- ⁵⁰ Castrén, *ibid.* ⁵¹ Szinnyei, *op. cit.*, p. 13.
- ⁵² Szinnyei, *op. cit.*, p. 13; Castrén, *op. cit.*, p. 132; cp. Müller, *Der Ugrische Volksstamm, Zweite Abtheilung*, pp. 462-8.
- ⁵³ Castrén, *op. cit.*, p. 132.
- ⁵⁴ The converse opinion has, on the other hand, also been held that the racial basis of this tribe is Tatar, which has been considerably modified by the surrounding Finnish peoples. In any case the mixture which they represent is that of two Turanian elements. See pp. 191-3.
- ⁵⁵ According to the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* they number about 500,000.
- ⁵⁶ See Castrén, *Ethn. Vorlesungen*, p. 93.
- ⁵⁷ See Lehrberg, *Untersuchungen zur Erläuterung der ältern Geschichte Russlands*, pp. 61-93.

⁵⁸ See Castrén, *op. cit.*, pp. 103-6.

⁵⁹ The figure given by Miss Czaplicka (from Patkanoff) is 17,221.

⁶⁰ Meyer, *Konversationslexikon*, vol. xx, p. 714; *Asiatic Russia* (1911), 6,814; Czaplicka (*op. cit.*, p. 576), 6,500; Szinnyei (*op. cit.*, 1910), 5,000.

⁶¹ A Persian word in form (*stān*, 'place, country').

⁶² Schäfer, *Länder- und Völkerkarte Europas*, 4th ed., Oct., 1916. If the Magyar-speaking Jews and Gipsies, who are accounted Magyars, are deducted, the Magyar population does not exceed $9\frac{1}{2}$ millions; cp. next note.

⁶³ *Op. cit.* There were also (in 1910) 933,458 Jews in Hungary, not counting a great number who have become Christians and are reckoned as Magyars; moreover (in 1893), 275,000 Gipsies, of whom 104,000 describe themselves as Magyars. There are besides 70,000 Slovenes and a small number of Greeks, Bulgars, Albanians, and Italians.

⁶⁴ In 1906 the number was 27,602.

⁶⁵ Cp. Seton-Watson, *Racial Problems in Hungary*, appendix xiii, p. 470; Drage, *Austria-Hungary*, p. 289.

⁶⁶ Vambéry, *Ursprung der Magyaren*, p. viii, sees in the Magyars a mixed people in which not Finno-Ugrians but Turks form the chief ingredient.

⁶⁷ Vambéry, *Der Ursprung der Magyaren*, Leipzig, 1882, pp. 343-65, collects the traces of the old Turanian religion (also social customs) of the Magyars before they embraced Christianity.

⁶⁸ See especially Dr. Siegmund Simonyi, *Die ungarische Sprache*, Strassburg, 1907, pp. 35-7; Szinnyei, *op. cit.*, pp. 47-52.

⁶⁹ See Emil Reich, *Hungarian Literature*, London, 1898.

⁷⁰ Cp. Castrén, *Ethnographische Vorlesungen*, pp. 130-1.

⁷¹ Till then the old patriarchal system of government of Turkish nomads had been strictly adhered to, that is, a federal system in which power was divided among several tribal chiefs. They only turned to their supreme chief when, under pressure of some great common danger, closer cohesion appeared a necessity. The numerous raids into European countries by the old Magyars were independently undertaken by tribal chiefs.

⁷² Even in the middle of the twelfth century a half nomadic manner of life continued here and there: Vambéry, *op. cit.*, p. 428.

⁷³ See Andrassy, *The Development of Hungarian Constitutional Liberty*, London, 1908; Knatchbull-Hugessen, *The Political Evolution of the Hungarian Nation*, 2 vols., London, 1908.

CHAPTER III

THE SAMOYED DIVISION

Habitat. This division of the Turanian family, though numerically small, covers an immense territory, extending along the coast of European and Asiatic Russia from the White Sea to the banks of the river Khatanga, and from the Arctic Ocean in the north to the Sayan mountains in the south. Their chief abodes are the desolate Tundras¹ of the Arctic coast. In old accounts of voyages *Samoedia* was always regarded as the country between the Pechora and the Ob, but at the present day the Samoyeds extend much farther east. On the western side of the Urals they occupy the district of Mezen in the government of Archangel, and on the eastern side, in Siberia, the territory from 44° E. as far as the peninsula of Taimir. Formerly they extended southward to the Altai range and its eastern extension, the Sayan mountains, and to the Upper Ob and Yenisei, but were driven northwards by Turco-Tatars in the fifth century of our era and later by Ostyak tribes. They gradually spread northward, following the course of the Ob and the Yenisei, occupying the region between these rivers till they reached the Arctic coast, along which they spread westward to the White Sea and eastward into the Taimir Peninsula.

Tribes. There are three main tribes of the Samoyeds:

a. The *Yuraks*, who occupy the coast region from the White Sea to the Yenisei. They are a vigorous and brave people, mostly reindeer nomads who wander in the woodless Tundras within the Arctic circle. They also engage in hunting and fishing to some extent, displaying great daring during their expeditions. Their chief centres are near Obdorsk and near the Gulf of Mezen. Five sub-dialects may be distinguished in their language.

b. The *Tavghis*, who live east of the Yuraks in the Taimir Peninsula, and extend from the Yenisei to the Khatanga. They are mostly reindeer nomads who wander in the Tundras.

c. The *Ostyak Samoyeds*, who do not belong to the Tundra district, but live south of the other two tribes in the forest zone of Tobolsk and Yeniseisk between the Middle Ob and the Yenisei (lat. 60° N. and between long. 80° and 90° E.). They are for the most part forest nomads, living chiefly by hunting, though they at the same time fish in the Yenisei. Instead of reindeer they have horses as well as dogs. They do not live in tents but in small huts called *yurtas*. Only a small portion of this tribe lives in the north, on the Taz river. These own reindeer, but only few in number.

d. These main tribes are further subdivided. Thus in the Yamal Peninsula ten different sub-tribes may be distinguished, each with its fixed boundaries for reindeer pasture. Besides these three main branches, there are in the south of Siberia several small tribes of Samoyed origin that still to some extent inhabit the old home of the Samoyed group, the Altai and the Sayan mountains, and the region to the north of these ranges, between the Upper Ob and the Yenisei, in the south of the governments of Tomsk and Yeniseisk. These tribes have been largely Tatarized and are fast losing their identity. At the time of Pallas (1776) they spoke the Samoyed language, but a few decades later they were much under Tatar influence, and now there are only traces of their real relationship to be found. Here again we have an example of members of one Turanian group being absorbed by those of another. These southern Samoyeds are:

1. The *Soyotes* (or Soyones), who live between the Altai and the Sayan mountains, partly in the Chinese territory of north-western Mongolia on the Russian frontier, from the sources of the river Kobdo to lake Kossogol, and still farther eastward towards the Selenga. They are a small and rapidly disappearing tribe, isolated among their cold and bare mountains. They live entirely by hunting the sable, the squirrel, and the bear, the fur of which they exchange for their own requirements. They use reindeer, less often horses, for driving and hunting. They live in wooden huts (*yurtas*) in different places according to the season of the year. A section of them has adopted a Mongolian (the Buryat) dialect. Their religion is partly the Lamaist form of Buddhism, partly Shamanism. They are an example of a Samoyed tribe which was formerly Turkified, and is now being rapidly Mongolized.

2. The *Karagasses* inhabit the northern slopes of the Sayan range (between 90° and 95° E.). Numbering only 449 in 1911,² they are losing their distinctive characteristics.

3. The *Motars* (or Motors), who live to the north of the Karagasses, have become merged in the neighbouring Tuba Tatars and the Soyotes. One section of them formerly entered China and was exterminated.

4. The *Kamassins* live to the north of the Motars in the Kansk district of Yeniseisk. They are herdsmen and agriculturists. Their language has a large Tatar admixture.

5. The *Koibals*, who inhabit the Upper Yenisei, formerly left the Sayan mountains and took possession of the Abakan Steppe (in the Minusinsk region), which had been abandoned by the Kirghiz in the earlier years of last century. They are hardly to be distinguished from the Tatars of Minusinsk. They are cattle-breeders.

6. The *Beltirs*, who live in the Abakan Steppe, are agriculturists and cattle-breeders. Their language is of a Tatar type. In religion they are nominally Christians.

Name. The name *Samoyed*, by which the Russians call this people, is of uncertain meaning; but the first part of the word is most probably related to *Same* and *Suomi*, the names by which the Lapps and the Finns respectively called their own country. They call themselves *Hazava*, 'the men'. The Ostyaks call them *Orghoy* or *Vorkho*, names which suggest relationship to 'Ugrian'. The name Samoyed itself occurs in a Russian chronicle as early as A. D. 1096.

Number. The total number of the Samoyed population is somewhat conjectural. Though formerly doubtless very much greater, it is now seriously reduced and can hardly amount to much over 20,000. The figures given for the three main tribes³ in *Asiatic Russia* (for 1911) are: Yuraks, 7,057; Tavghis, 1,370; Ostyak Samoyeds, 6,559; a total of 14,986 for Siberia. To these should be added about 6,000 Yuraks on the European side of the Urals. We thus obtain an aggregate of nearly 21,000. By the inclusion of the small remnants of the Tatarized Samoyed tribes of Southern Siberia, the sum total of the Samoyeds recognizable as a distinct racial unit can hardly exceed 22,000 souls.

Characteristics. In general physique the Samoyeds resemble the Ugrian Ostyaks. But their eyes are narrower, and their

complexions and hair are darker than those of people belonging to undoubted Finno-Ugrian stocks. The Samoyed is short in stature—the average height of the men being 5 ft. 2 in., that of the women slightly less. They are mesocephalic. Their hair is straight, black, and glossy. The colour of their skin is sallow. The eyes are narrow, oblique, and far apart. The face is broad, flat, and round, with little or no beard. The cheek-bones are prominent; the nose is flat and open; the lips are thick. As a rule they are stoutly built and very muscular. There has been some admixture of Russian blood, the race being less pure in the west than in the east. To the west of the Pechora a Slavonic and Teutonic strain is observable, some Samoyeds being found here with light hair, fair skin, and eyes of the Aryan type.

They are intelligent, energetic, pacific, and cheerful; sociable and hospitable; honest, but thriftless. They are very dirty and never wash; and never change their clothes till they fall to pieces. Women are regarded by them as unclean, and are not allowed to enter certain parts of the *chum* or conical tent made of reindeer skins.

Mode of Life. The main occupations of the Samoyeds are reindeer breeding, hunting, and fishing. Before their northward migration they also practised agriculture. The Yuraks and Tavghis, as mainly reindeer breeders, are nomadic, being on the march with their tents for four months in the year, as they migrate south in winter and north in summer. A rich Samoyed—the richest are found in the Yamal Peninsula—may possess as many as 5,000 reindeer. The Ostyak Samoyed is more engaged in hunting and to a less extent in fishing. In hunting the Samoyeds formerly used bows and arrows, but now employ primitive flintlocks. Most of the implements used by the Samoyed are made of bone and stone. But he also employs three metal tools—the axe, the knife, and the borer—with which he is very dexterous. The women are expert in sewing.

The Samoyeds, like the Ostyaks, also engage in trade, taking their furs to Berezov, Obdorsk, and elsewhere. But the Zirians, who are the Jews of the Tundra, have most of this trade in their hands.

But though the Samoyeds are nomads, they have shown themselves capable of settling down. Thus at Kozhva, in

the Government of Archangel, some of them have become a stationary population engaged in growing barley, rearing cattle, and fishing.

Clothing and Food. The clothing of both men and women among the Samoyeds is made of reindeer skin. Both sexes wear charms, the favourite one being the tooth of the bear. Their chief food is the flesh of reindeer. In some parts they make a kind of rye bread. They are fond of chewing tobacco, taking snuff, and drinking *vodka*.

Customs. Monogamy prevails among the Samoyeds, though there is no objection to polygamy. A price is regularly paid for the bride. The Samoyed will sometimes sell his wife for some teams of reindeer or exchange her for another man's wife.

Interment has become the custom of the Samoyeds since their adoption of Christianity. But the traditional method of burial was to deposit the bodies on the Tundra in what were merely wooden boxes, which were consequently often rifled by wolves and foxes. The indigenous belief of the Samoyeds is that beyond the mouth of the Ob below the earth lies the world of the departed, where the shadow will live as long as it lived on earth, while the soul is reincarnated.

Religion. Though the Samoyeds are nominally Christians they have retained a good deal of their primitive religion, and are essentially still heathen. They believe in their old divinities, offer sacrifices to wooden idols, and hold their Shaman priests (called *tadebi*) in high esteem. They think that the God of the Christians cannot know much about reindeer, and consequently appeal to their native gods in matters connected with their herds. Of their indigenous deities the chief is *Num*, the giver of life. They also believe in a devil called *Aa*, in certain other spirits, and in household gods. The latter can be approached without any mediator, but for the others the intervention of a Shaman, who is regarded as a representative of *Num*, is necessary. The Samoyeds have no temples, but resort to certain places in the hills which they consider sacred. The island of Vaigach is regarded as especially holy, and it is there that the devout Samoyed would wish to be buried. One of their chief idols, called *Khese*, is in the Yamal Peninsula.

Language. Linguistically the Samoyeds are more closely connected with the Finns than with any other branch of the

Turanians. In these two divisions the agglutinative process has advanced much further than in Mongolian, Tungusic, and Turkish. Moreover, the relationship in vocabulary of these two languages to one another is much closer than to any of the other Turanian divisions. The degree of agglutination attained by them is not far removed from the inflexional character of the Indo-European languages. They thus form a kind of transition to the inflexional stage. Within the three main dialects twelve sub-dialects have been distinguished.

History. The Samoyeds have never played any part in history, and little is known of their origin; but that their old home lay in the Altai and Sayan ranges is indicated by the fact that several South Samoyed tribes that still spoke the Samoyed language in the eighteenth century even now inhabit the northern slopes of those ranges. The exact period when the main body of the Samoyeds in the north migrated from this region is uncertain, because the earliest information we have of them is from Nestor, in the eleventh century, when they were already in occupation of their present territory. The cause of their northward migration was the pressure of the Turks who invaded Southern Siberia in the fifth century. One section of them followed the course of the Yenisei, the other that of the Ob. That this movement was due to the Turks is shown by the fact that, whenever in the south a still existing Samoyed tribe is found, there is always a Turkish one south of it, and that all the Samoyed tribes that have lost their nationality appear to have become Turks only. The Samoyeds also came into contact with Finnish tribes. Tradition indicates that some of the Samoyed tribes were driven away by Finns, while others drove the Finns away. Thus the Ugrian Ostyaks are said to have expelled the Samoyeds from the lower Ob to the coast of the Arctic Ocean. The only region, on the other hand, from which the Samoyeds seem to have ousted the Finns is that which lies to the west of the Urals.

It is from the Russians that we derive most of our scanty knowledge of the Samoyeds in earlier times. Three Samoyed peoples are mentioned in Siberia as living east of the Yenisei and south of the river Kan—the Tubins, the Motars, and the Kamassins. Although small in numbers they were warlike, and strenuously resisted subjection to Russian supremacy. The Tubins first began to pay tribute to the Russians in 1629,

but they only did so regularly after 1654. These three tribes were forest Samoyeds, whose chief occupation was hunting, which accounted for their skill in archery. At the present day the Tubins have disappeared, and the rest, with the exception of a few Kamassins, have been Turkified. But the name *Tuba* has remained, for the Koibals call themselves by it even now, while Altaian tribes call the Black Forest Tatars 'Tuba'. The *Dubo*, mentioned by the Chinese, were no doubt the same Samoyed tribe. This is indicated not only by the name, but by the habitat of this people mentioned by the Chinese, as well as by their occupation with hunting and fishing, which they never changed from the seventh to the seventeenth century.

The connexion of the Samoyeds with the Russians in Europe is of long standing. In the eleventh century they paid tribute to the Novgorodians. Since the sixteenth century they have been protected by law in their occupation of the Tundras. In the south they have been impoverished by the loss of their hunting grounds as Russian civilization has spread northward. Russian rule, however, is not oppressive. Thus an adult Yurak pays a tax of £1, which cannot be considered heavy. In 1835 the Samoyeds were given considerable powers of self-government, being ruled in their own affairs by elders or mayors, one for each Tundra, who is governor and judge in one, as well as collector of the tribute, which he pays to the Government. A further advance in this direction was made in 1892, when a law was passed sanctioning native councils. These meet annually in winter.

The Samoyeds are a dying race as a separate people; for they are being pushed farther north, and are becoming poorer. They attach great importance to their nationality, and keep aloof from the Russians, being conscious that they cannot retain their language, religion, and customs in contact with civilization.

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1904. Scobel, *Geographisches Handbuch zu Andree's Handatlas*, 4th ed., Bielefeld and Leipzig, 1910.

Language: Castrén, *Grammatik der samoyedischen Sprache*, 1854; Samoyed Dictionary, 1855; *Versuch einer koibalischen und karagassischen Sprachlehre*, 1857; Friedrich Müller, *Grundzüge der Sprachwissenschaft*, vol. ii, Vienna, 1882.

NOTES

¹ The term *tundra*, borrowed by the Russians from the Finns, signifies a treeless, swampy, moss-producing country fringing the Arctic Ocean. As the Samoyeds, like the Lapps, mostly possess reindeer herds, they have to keep to these inhospitable regions, which are little suited for human habitation.

² According to *Asiatic Russia*, Petrograd, 1914.

³ Castrén considers the Samoyeds to be a mixture of Ugrians with Mongolians, while Quatrefages classes them with the Voguls. Radloff thinks it is Ugro-Samoyeds whose relics are the numberless graves of the Bronze Period which are scattered through western Siberia, in the Altai, and on the Yenisei in the Minusinsk region. The people buried in these graves were not nomads, but husbandmen, who kept horses, sheep, and goats. They were familiar with mining.

CHAPTER IV.

THE TUNGUS DIVISION

Habitat. The vast domain inhabited by the Tungus covers many hundred thousand square miles in central and eastern Siberia and in the basin of the Amur. It stretches from the Yenisei eastwards to the Pacific, where it occupies most of the seaboard between Korea and Kamchatka. It touches the Arctic Ocean in the coast district from west of the Lena to east of the Yana river. It continues along the Anyui river and the Stanovoi mountains eastward to the Chukchee Peninsula. But the Tungus are chiefly to be found in the region watered by the three large eastern tributaries of the Yenisei, which are respectively called the Upper, the Middle or Stony, and the Lower Tunguska. The Amur also is mainly a Tungus river almost from its source to its mouth, a number of their tribes being distributed along its course, as well as along its tributaries, the Sungari and Ussuri, in the south-east of Manchuria, and the Shilka in the north-west.

Name. The name in its Russian form, *Tungus*, is the Chinese *Tunghu*, which is probably a corruption meaning 'the people'. The Samoyeds call them *Aiyas*, 'younger brothers', which implies that they were late immigrants into the territory near the Yenisei from their original home in the east on the Amur.

Numbers. Though wandering over so vast a territory, the Tungus are very few in number, not exceeding 75,204, according to the estimate given by *Asiatic Russia* (1914),¹ in Siberia.² There are besides, in China, over a million Manchus,³ who are the most important Tungus tribe. The numbers of the Tungus are steadily decreasing, owing to the ravages of small-pox, scarlet fever, and especially famine. Their domain is also being encroached on from the north and east by the aggressive Yakuts, and from the south by Russians, now settled in compact bodies in the province of Irkutsk about the upper course of the Yenisei. In the Amur valley the same fate is overtaking the kindred tribes, who are disappearing before the great waves of

Chinese migration from the south, and Russian encroachments from both east and west.

Characteristics. The physical type of the Tungus essentially resembles the Mongolian. They have broad flat features, small nose, wide mouth, thin lips, small black and somewhat slanting eyes, black lank hair, scanty beard, dark olive or bronze complexion, and low stature averaging not more than 5 ft. 4 in. They are distinguished from other Turanian peoples by the square shape of the skull and the slim, wiry, well-proportioned figure. The preceding description applies more particularly to the Tunguska tribes, who may be regarded as typical Tungus.

They are fearless hunters, capable of enduring hardships and want with great fortitude. They are cheerful, persevering, frank, trustworthy, modest, yet self-reliant. In moral qualities they appear to be easily superior to any other native inhabitants of Siberia.

Mode of Life. The great bulk of the Tungus, quite 95 per cent., are nomads, who use the reindeer both for riding and driving. They also to some extent use horses, cattle, and dogs. They chiefly hunt fur-bearing animals, the most valuable of which is the black fox. They exchange the skins with Russian and Yakut traders for provisions, clothing, and other necessities of life. Only about 1 per cent. of the Tungus are agriculturists, who, having intermarried with Russians and forgotten their language, have settled down chiefly in the Trans-Baikal district. The remaining 4 per cent. of the Tungus have, like some of the Mongolian Buryats, joined the regiment of Cossacks.

The Tungus have no towns, villages, or houses, but only tents, of which not more than two or three are found together. The summer dwelling is made of birch-bark, the winter one of skins, more rarely of logs.

Their main food is the milk and the flesh of reindeer, dried fish, and a sort of cheese. They have little liking for a vegetable diet.

Customs. A son grows up in his father's dwelling and has no property of his own. When he is married he occupies his own section of the tent. The Tungus girl is free in her choice of a husband, and receives her own share of inheritance like her brother. Marriage is exogamous, though in the north, as

among the Yakuts, endogamous tribes are found. There is no objection to polygamy, but few Tungus can afford more than one wife.

When a man dies his corpse is usually sewn up in reindeer skin and then placed in a wooden coffin, sometimes on high wooden posts, while among the pastoral people round Lake Baikal it is interred in the ground. On returning from the funeral the mourners try to obliterate their tracks,⁴ or cut down trees to bar the way, in order that the spirit of the dead man may not pursue them.

The Tungus have a peculiar dance, which consists in stamping on the ground while they repeat again and again one particular word. They have but few musical instruments. Among the southern Tungus, the influence of China has led to the development of beautiful forms of art.

Religion. Though many of the northern Tungus have been baptized and are therefore reckoned as 'Greek Christians', they have not been affected by Russian orthodoxy below the surface, and most of them are still devoted to Shamanism, secretly keeping the claws of wild animals as amulets and observing Christian rites only under compulsion. Among the southern Tungus a good number are Buddhists owing to Chinese influence; the rest are Shamanists.

History. There is no doubt that the original home of the Tungus was Manchuria, still the habitat of their most important tribe, the Manchus, and that all the Tungus tribes wandering in eastern Siberia started from the fertile banks of the Amur. Hardly anything is known of their early history excepting the information supplied by the Chinese and summarized below (under Manchus). The Russians, who found the northern Tungus on the Yenisei at the beginning of the seventeenth century, first mention their name in 1612. In the following century these Tungus are described as engaged in severe struggles with the Yakuts.

Tribes. We may distinguish two main divisions of the Tungus based on their geographical distribution—the northern or Siberian Tungus who are scattered over different parts of Siberia (in the west on the Tunguska, in the north-east over Yakutsk, and in the south-east on the Amur), and the southern Tungus in Manchuria.

A. *The Northern or Siberian Division*

This includes :—(a) In the west, the *Chapogir* who inhabit the territory between the Lower and the Middle Tunguska.

(b) In the north-east a reindeer nomad tribe living between Chaun Bay and the Anadir, to the north of the Stanovoi mountains, and the *Lamuts* in the Verkhoyansk and Kolima districts of Yakutsk, along the northern shore of the Sea of Okhotsk; in the south-east, eight tribes which are either wholly or partially Tungus, falling into two linguistic groups of four.

(c) The most widely spread and at the same time the westernmost of these are the *Orochon*. They extend from the north of Lake Baikal eastwards to the Shilka, along that river and the Amur to near its confluence with its northern tributary the Oldoi (c. 123° E.), and northwards along the Olekma valley almost as far as Olekminsk on the Lena, and southwards to the Khingan mountains. Originally living in Yakutsk they migrated to the Amur in 1825 and occupied part of the territory of the Manegir. They inhabit both sides of the Amur. In physique they are small and thin. They have flat faces, with small, sleepy-looking eyes, which are black or brown in colour; large, often pointed noses; large mouths, with thin lips and broad cheeks. Their hair is black and smooth; their eyebrows are thin and their beards scanty. They are a nomadic people occupied with reindeer breeding (as their name indicates). They have preserved their tribal peculiarities in great purity. Nominally Christians, they keep up a good deal of their old Shamanism. They wear the teeth and claws of animals as amulets, and erect wooden idols in their *yurtas* or huts.

(d) The *Manegir* live east of the Orochon, along the right bank of the Amur, from the mouth of the Oldoi to that of the Zeya, and up the latter river and its tributaries to about lat. 54° N. and between long. 123° and 128° E. They are nomadic, but they employ horses, of which they have large herds, while the Orochon use reindeer. They frequent the river banks in summer but the forest regions in winter. Their language is like that of the Orochon: both for instance accent the last syllable of words. But their physique is more like the Manchu type, while that of the Orochon rather resembles the Tungus of the north.

(e) The *Birar* occupy the valley of the Bureya and its affluents up to about lat. 52° N., and extend towards the river Dichum (c. lat. 49° N., long. 131° E.). They are nomads who, like the Manegir, employ horses. They resemble the Manegir both in physiognomy and in language. They have borrowed words from the Chinese, the Manchus, and the Daurians.

(f) The *Kile* live east of the Birar in the valleys of the Urmi and the Kur (which are northern tributaries of the Amur on its north-easterly course), but do not extend down to the Amur. They seem originally to have been a tribe of reindeer nomads who, having settled on the Kur, took to hunting and fishing.

In the region of the lower Amur near the sea there is a linguistically connected group of Tungus tribes whose habitat lies between 50° – 53° N. and 136° – 143° E. Three of these are on the mainland and one on the island of Sakhalin. Taken from north to south they are the following:

(g) The *Negda* inhabit the valley of the Amgun down to near its confluence with the Amur.

(h) To the south of them live the *Sanagir*, along the upper and middle course of the river Gorin, and extend north-eastwards from the west of Lake Ovoron.

(i) The *Olcha*, located to the east of the Sanagir, occupy both sides of the Amur from the mouth of the Gorin to the coast. As they show a modification of the Tungus type, they have by some been thought to be of Mongol origin. They keep dogs in large numbers.

(j) The *Oroke* inhabit the northern half of the island of Sakhalin. They are said to be only 749 in number. They are reindeer nomads. They are alluded to as early as 1709 by travellers as the reindeer-owning inhabitants of Sakhalin. They use bows, arrows, and spears for hunting. Their food consists of fish, meat, roots, and herbs.

B. *The Southern or Manchurian Division*

The Southern or Manchurian group of the Tungus occupies the territory south of the Amur, not only Manchuria, but also the coastal region to the east of the Ussuri river.

(k) The *Daurians* live on the right or southern bank of the Amur below Blagovyeshchensk. They are also found farther west on the Nonni river.⁵ Both physically and linguistically

they show a strong Mongolian and Chinese admixture. In type they are hard to distinguish from the Manchus. They have oval and intellectual faces; their cheeks are less broad than those of other Tungus; their noses are rather prominent; their eyebrows are straight; their skin is tawny, and their hair brown. They are a tall, strong people. They have to a great extent adopted Chinese customs; thus the upper class shave their heads in front and grow pigtails behind. By occupation they are primarily hunters, but they also engage in fishing. In religion they are Shamanists. Outside many of their houses are to be seen shrines containing idols with basins of incense before them. Another religious decoration is a long pole adorned with votive skulls.

(l) The *Solon* are an important tribe of Northern Manchuria, neighbours of the Daurians. They live on both sides of the Nonni river, northwards of Tsitsikar. They are chiefly hunters, though some of them are agriculturists, cattle-breeders, and traders. They begin hunting the sable early in October. They are nomadic, using horses for hunting, in which even their women take part. They keep horses, sheep, oxen, camels, and hunting dogs. As regards religion they, like all Manchurians, are devoted to Shamanism. Like the Daurians, they have been largely mixed with Chinese.

(m) The *Manchus* are the sole Tungus tribe that has distinguished itself. The only one with any history, they have given to China its last dynasty, which ruled from 1644 down to the establishment of the Republic a few years ago. Their original home is the region round the upper course of the Sungari, north of Kirin (lat. 44° N., long. 126° E.). Their name, which seems to have been first used by the Russians about the middle of the seventeenth century, is of uncertain origin.⁶ The number of Manchus in Russian territory is 3,340, while in Manchuria it perhaps exceeds 1,000,000.⁷ Here the Manchus are outnumbered by the Chinese immigrants⁸ and the half-breed population. The Chinese who migrate into Manchuria nearly always intermarry with Manchu women. Thus the Manchu nation is gradually being absorbed by the Chinese. The Manchus are most numerous in the towns as officials and merchants. But a considerable proportion of them still live in the mountains round the valley of the Liao. A considerable number of Manchus live in China as officials,

but they disappear in the Chinese population. The Manchus are an energetic and warlike race. They are taller in stature than any of their neighbours. They have also more marked features, thicker and more arched noses, less thin lips, and larger mouths.

The Manchu language, which is still characterized by the Turanian vowel harmony, is more worn down than the sister languages, being regular and easy to learn. It is the only Tungus dialect which has developed a certain amount of literature; for since the foundation of the Manchu dynasty in China, many, and those chiefly the most important, Chinese works have been translated into Manchu. The Manchus have used writing for about two centuries and a half, their alphabet having been developed from the Mongolian.

The Manchus gave their name to the whole of Manchuria, because the founder of the last Chinese dynasty called the whole nation after his own tribe. Practically nothing is known of the history of the Manchus prior to 1644, since when it has been associated with that of China. For they are never mentioned in earlier Chinese history, which, however, refers to other Tungus tribes, some of which played a very important part in the history of China. The earliest information which the Chinese give of what is now Manchuria dates from the eleventh century B. C. and relates to the powerful tribe of the *Suchiu* (now *Shuchi*, *Yuchiu*, &c.): they are described as having brought to the Chinese arrows made of the wood *hu* with tips of hard stone. After a long silence the same tribe is again mentioned in 263 after Christ, as having sent to the then ruling dynasty of China tribute consisting of bows, arrows, armour, and sable skins. Their country and institutions are described at some length. In the fifth century after Christ another tribe composed of several hordes called *Mu-ky* (later also *Mo-kho* or *Mo-ho*) is mentioned as living in Manchuria on the Sungari river, and some account of their manner of life is given.

In the same century the Chinese annals speak of a tribe called *Chy-Goey* inhabiting the northernmost parts of the present Manchuria and consisting of a northern and southern division. The former were a reindeer people, chiefly occupied with hunting and fishing, who lived partly in subterranean dwellings, partly in tents of bark. The southern section, who

spoke the same language as the *Mo-ho*, lived in a swampy, cold forest country, and kept horses, cattle, and many pigs. To the southern Chy-Goey belonged a tribe called *Khitan*, who were driven north by the Chinese and for a time acknowledged their supremacy. But in the sixth to the ninth centuries they rebelled against the Chinese. In 907 their chief named Apaokhi founded the Khitan Empire, which embraced the whole of Mongolia and Manchuria, extending from the ocean in the east to Kashgar in the west. From time to time northern China was subject to the Khitan dynasty till it was destroyed in 1125 by the Kin dynasty. The latter arose from the Tungus tribe of the *Shuchi* (mentioned above) on the ruins of the Khitan Empire. It reduced China to a tributary state and lasted till 1235, when it was in turn destroyed by Ogotai, the son and successor of Jenghiz Khan. From that time onward the Tungus tribes were first subject to the supremacy of the Mongols and then of the Chinese, till the Manchu dynasty came to the front in 1644. This line also derived its origin from the wild Shuchi tribe. It gradually acquired such power as to subjugate not only China proper, but also Mongolia, Manchuria, Tibet, Bokhara, Dzungaria, and other territories. Like all foreign hordes that have invaded and ruled China, the Manchu dynasty has been completely absorbed by Chinese civilization.

(n) The *Goldi* live in the north-east corner of Manchuria along the Amur and its tributaries the Ussuri and the Sungari. Their neighbours on the north are the Sanagir and the Olcha, on the east the Oroch, on the west the Kile and the Manchus. They number about 5,000. Two physical types have been distinguished among them. In the one the face is round or oval, with the well-known Mongol characteristics—broad cheek-bones, small oblique eyes, broad, low noses. In the other, the cheeks are wider, the eyes less oblique, the nose higher and more arched, the lips thicker. Both types have black hair, scanty beard and moustache, bony and muscular frames. They are described as timid, good-natured, and honest. They have acted as transmitters of Chinese culture to tribes beyond them.

By occupation they are chiefly fishermen, using as a rule small birch-bark canoes for one, but also larger boats. They employ dogs to tow their boats up-stream. They also to some

extent engage in hunting, but have settled homes and are not nomads. They cultivate small plots of land in which they grow vegetables. They are good smiths and make beautiful ornamental spearheads. The women are skilled in needlework and embroidery.

In religion the Goldi are devoted to Shamanism. They bury their Shamans, as well as other important people, in huts; but the bodies of the poor are bestowed in wooden coffins which are placed in trees out of the reach of wild beasts. As men are in a majority there is no polygamy among them.

(o) The *Oroch* live in the Russian coast province, to the east of the Ussuri and the lower Amur—from de Castries Bay in the north down to Amur Bay in the south. Their neighbours in the north are the Olcha and in the west the Goldi. In the south they are much intermixed with Chinese.

Their physical type has been modified by Chinese and Gilyak admixture. They are very short in stature. Their heads are proportionately big, while their extremities are small. Their faces are flat and almost square; the forehead is low and somewhat receding; the cheek-bones are prominent, the eyes small and slanting; the nose is small and flat, the mouth large, and the lips thin. Their complexion is less dark and their hair less thick than that of the Ainu, while their beards are very scanty. Their hair is black or brown, and their eyebrows are strongly marked.

In spite of their name, which means 'reindeer-keepers', they are now nomad hunters and fishers. The number of this tribe is stated to be 2,407.

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NOTES

¹ Based on the census of 1897; according to Patkanoff, *Statistical Data, &c.*, 1912, the total number of Tungus is 76,507, 62,068 being Tungus proper (those who call themselves by the generic name Avanki, and not by clan names).

² Castrén, *Ethn. Vorlesungen*, p. 22, estimated the number of Tungus under Russian dominion to be about 53,000 in 1851.

³ Cp. Meyer, *Konversationslexikon*, vol. xiii, p. 213. The rest of the population of Manchuria, perhaps four millions, consists of Chinese or a mixture of Chinese and Manchus.

⁴ This is a very ancient primitive custom practised in India more than 3,000 years ago, as shown by a funeral hymn of the *Rigveda*.

⁵ See Schrenk, *Reisen und Forschungen im Amurlande*, vol. iii, p. 49; cp. also his ethnographic map, facing p. 310.

⁶ Cp. Schrenk, *op. cit.*, p. 188.

⁷ See Meyer, *Konversationslexikon*, vol. xiii, p. 213.

⁸ But the Manchus are still owners of the soil, which they only let to the Chinese.

CHAPTER V

THE MONGOL DIVISION

Habitat. The original home of the Mongol race is Mongolia, which forms a geographical link between the habitat of the Southern Tungus on the east and that of the Turks on the west. It is separated from Siberia in the north by the Altai, the Sayan, and the Yablonai ranges; from Manchuria in the east by the Khingan mountains; from China and Tibet in the south-east and south by the In Shan and Ala Shan; from Turkestan in the south-west by the northern frontier of Dzungaria; and from Russian Central Asia in the west by no very definite natural boundary. This territory lies roughly between lat. 40° to 50° N. and long. 90° to 120° E. About nine-tenths of its inhabitants are pure Mongols. The whole Mongolian race at the present day lives within the boundaries of the Chinese and the Russian Empires, about three millions being subject to China and half a million to Russia.

Main branches. There are three main branches:—(1) the Eastern Mongols, or Mongols proper, practically all in Mongolia;¹ (2) the Buryats, in Siberia around Lake Baikal and in south Irkutsk; and (3) the Kalmuks, partly in and around Dzungaria (to the west, north, and south-east), partly in southern Russia, and between the Don and the Volga. These main tribes are further subdivided into a number of small hordes.

Number. The total number of the Mongols may be estimated at rather less than 3,500,000. The Eastern Mongols are by far the most numerous, comprising probably 2,580,000. The Buryats number 332,554,² about two-thirds of them inhabiting the districts round Lake Baikal, the rest the south of Irkutsk. The West Mongols or Kalmuks total about 530,000, of whom 370,000 live in China, 110,000 in Southern Russia, and 50,000 in Siberia.

Name. The origin of the name Mongol is obscure; but Schott's derivation of it from *mong*, 'brave', is commonly

accepted.³ In the tenth century they are first mentioned by the Chinese under the name *Mang-yu* or *Mang-yus*, and by 1135 the Mongols are known by their present name as *Mung-ku* or *Mung-kus*. But this name is very rare in Chinese chronicles. Instead of it, *Tata*, which first appears in 880, is commoner. From this time the expression *Tata* first appears in Chinese history as a designation of wild hordes in the In Shan derived from the Mo-kho tribe. Henceforth the term received a wider application and finally came to designate as 'Tatars' the wild hordes not of the Mongol, but of the Turkish race.⁴

Characteristics. The Mongol is somewhat below the middle height; he has a short neck and slender limbs. He is characterized by small black eyes, narrow straight eyebrows, prominent cheek-bones, broad flat nose, thick lips, short chin, and large protruding ears. His hair is black and coarse, and his beard scanty. He is brachycephalic. Though his complexion is brown, he shows colour in his cheeks. The east Mongolian is slender and strong, but the other two branches show a tendency to fatness.

The Mongols are by nature a lazy, phlegmatic people, not having the quickness, intelligence, and energy of the Tungus and Manchus. They like a quiet, peaceful life: those of them that live within Chinese territory are satisfied with being called the allies of China and being its actual vassals. But that they have had the energy for great deeds is shown historically by the achievements of Jenghiz Khan and of Timur;⁵ for they founded the greatest empire that the world has ever seen, conquering nearly the whole of Asia and a great part of Europe. It is inconceivable that this should ever happen again. For the main body of this race, which inhabits Mongolia, are now devoted adherents of Buddhism, by which religion they have been transformed from a very warlike into a peaceful and unenterprising people.

Manner of Life. All the Mongolian tribes are nomads, whose chief occupation is cattle-breeding accompanied by trade.

Religion. Though originally Shamanists, the Mongols have adopted the religions of the more civilized peoples by whom they have been subdued: Buddhism from the Chinese, Christianity from the Russians, and to a slight extent Islam from the Tatars by whom they have been Turkified in the neighbourhood of the Altai range.

Language. The main Turanian language to which Mongolian is most nearly allied is Turkish, the two having more than half their roots in common. All the three main dialects of the language (corresponding to the three racial divisions) are so closely related in roots, inflexions, and grammatical structure that whoever understands one of them understands all. They share the Turanian phonetic characteristic of 'harmony of vowels' by which all the vowels of the same word belong to the same class, so that the nature of the first or root vowel determines the nature of the other or inflexional vowels.⁶ The vocabulary contains many Chinese, Turkish, and Tibetan words.

Writing. The Mongolian characters (used in a slightly modified form by the Manchus also) form not an alphabet but a syllabarium, the unit of which is the syllable, that is, a consonant with its accompanying vowel. These characters are lineal descendants of the original Uigur forms which were themselves derived from the Syriac (Aramaic) writing brought to the Uigurs⁷ by Nestorian missionaries. An Indian and Tibetan influence is noticeable in them. The arrangement in perpendicular lines read downwards is due to Chinese, though the columns are read from left to right (the direction of the Indian script). This writing was given its ultimate shape by two learned Lamas in the thirteenth century. It is, however, very imperfect owing to the ambiguity of certain of its letters.

History. The surest source of the earliest history of the Mongols are the Chinese chronicles. These name the so-called *Hiung-nu* as the first powerful people inhabiting the country which is now Mongolia. De Guignes, the celebrated author of the history of the Huns and Turks,⁸ as well as Klaproth,⁹ Ritter,¹⁰ and others, regard this people as Turks, while the Russian Hyakinth,¹¹ followed by Neumann,¹² take them to be Mongols. The balance of evidence, however, seems to be in favour of the Turks, as some of the few known words of the *Hiung-nu* language are of Turkish origin. De Guignes regards the western Huns who invaded Europe under Attila in the fifth century as a branch of the *Hiung-nu* people and consequently as Turks also.

From the history of the T'ang dynasty of China (A.D. 618-905) and later works it appears that the original camping grounds

of the Mongols were along the courses of the Kerulen, the upper Nonni, and the Argun rivers. But the origin of the race is obscure and mythical. Thus the native Mongol historian Sanang Setsen (c. 1660)¹³ traces their descent from a blue wolf. The Mongols did not begin to play any important part till the second half of the twelfth century, having before then been mostly vassals of the Tungus dynasties of Khitan and Kin. Then, however, they were collected by Jenghiz Khan to lay the foundation of his mighty empire. Their reputed ancestor Budantsar by craft and violence became the chief of a tribe living in the neighbourhood of his mother's tent. His descendants increased in power till the eighth in succession, Jesukai, made his power felt over a large area. He threw off the yoke of the White Tatas (the Turks), to whom his own tribe, the Black Tatas, had long been subject, and for the first time united all the Black Tatas to one people. Jesukai was the father of Jenghiz Khan (1162-1227), who, born as the chief of a petty Mongolian tribe, became one of the greatest conquerors the world has ever seen. He called his own tribe 'Mongol' or rather 'Kökö' (Black) Mongol as a distinction from the White Tata (or Turk) tribes. In the course of his life he subjected the whole of Central Asia (including Manchuria, Mongolia, Turkestan), and after destroying Peking conquered northern China. When in 1219 he started from Karakorum, his capital in Mongolia, on his westward advance, his armies ravaged the north-west of India and penetrated into southern Russia. Thus when he died in 1227 he left an empire which extended from the China Sea as far as the banks of the Dnieper. And though it dwindled under his incompetent descendants and finally disappeared without a trace, a momentous result of his rule was the presence of the Turks in Europe; for it was the advance of his armies that drove the Osmanlis from their original home in northern Asia and thus led to their invasion of Bithynia under Othman (died 1326) and finally their entry into Europe under Amurath I (or Murad I, 1319-89).

Jenghiz Khan's empire was divided in 1227 among his sons, and his conquests were continued by his grandsons. Ogotai, the second (and eldest surviving) son who had become chief Khan, died in 1241 and was succeeded by his son Kuyuk, who reigned only seven years. The latter showed favour to

Christianity; for his two ministers as well as his physicians were Christians, and a Christian chapel stood before his tent. Upon his death the lordship of the Mongols passed to the house of Tuli (or Tului), the youngest son of Jenghiz Khan. In 1251 Tuli's eldest son Mangu was elected chief Khan. He practised perfect impartiality towards Christians and Mohammedans alike, though Shamanism was recognized as the state religion. In 1253 Mangu was visited by Rubruquis¹⁴ and other Christian monks. The former gives an account of the chief Khan's palace at Karakorum, contrasting greatly with the nomad tent-life of his forefathers. Assisted by his brothers Hulagu and Kublai he considerably increased the Mongol Empire. He himself conquered China, Tibet, and various territories bordering on India. Hulagu stormed Bagdad, destroyed the Khalifate there, and made the Seljuk sultans of Iconium tributary. Hulagu was meditating the capture of Jerusalem in order to restore it to the Christians, when he was recalled by the death of Mangu in 1260. Kublai was now elected Great Khan.

By this time the Mongol Empire had attained a greater extent than any empire of the world either before or after, reaching from the Sea of China to the frontier of Poland, from the Himalayas to deep into Siberia. But this vast empire was already developing the seeds of dissolution, which was accelerated by Kublai's transfer of the capital to China in 1280. Even during his reign several sub-khans made themselves independent and formed a number of kingdoms of which Turkestan, Persia, East and South Russia were the most powerful. In China itself Mongol rule lasted under the name of the Yuen dynasty till 1368, when China threw off the alien yoke, the house of Jenghiz Khan being supplanted by the Ming dynasty (1368-1644).

The Mongols then withdrew to the regions outside the Great Wall, where they united in the land between the Amur and the Selenga with their kinsmen who had remained behind. At first the descendants of Jenghiz Khan ruled here, but soon the people divided into independent hordes with different names.

In Persia Hulagu had founded in 1265 the dynasty of the Il-khans, which lasted down to 1349. The Mongols here completely adopted the language and customs of the country,

the Sultans embracing Islam and even introducing the Arab-Persian constitution.

In the land north of the Caspian between the Yaik (Ural) and the Volga, the grandsons of Jenghiz Khan, Orda and Batu, had founded an empire which extended to the Dnieper, but which soon dissolved into several small Khanates. These were gradually all subjected by the Russians.

Their original nomad mode of life, as well as their Shamanistic religion, was most faithfully preserved by the Mongols of Transoxiana, where Jenghiz Khan's son Jagatai had founded in 1227 a kingdom which extended from the Jihoun (Oxus) to the Irtish. In this region arose that second great conqueror *Timur* ('iron') *Lenk* ('lame'), corrupted to 'Tamerlane' (1333-1405), who united the power of the Mongols and Turks, and led them to new conquests. He was born at Samarkand, which became his capital. He first subjected Persia, then Georgia; in 1394 he penetrated to Moscow, overthrew by degrees all the kingdoms of Central Asia, and in 1398 conquered India from the Indus to the mouth of the Ganges. In 1401 he destroyed Bagdad, then invaded Asia Minor, and in 1402 defeated the Osman Turks at Angora with his numerically far superior Mongol army. After his death in 1404 the dissensions among his relatives in regard to the succession soon led to a complete dissolution of the empire. Only in Jagatai have the dynasties of Jenghiz Khan and Timur survived down to the present under foreign sovereignty.

It was from here that Babar ('the lion'), fifth in descent from Timur and born in 1483 in Ferghana, founded the new Mongolian Empire in India, that of the Great Moguls (that is, Mongols) by defeating the Sultan of Delhi at the battle of Panipat in 1526. This conquest of India was in no real sense a Mongolian achievement. For Babar's invading army, which consisted of only 12,000 miscellaneous adventurers from Central Asia, probably contained hardly any actual Mongols. The dynasty itself was Turkish as descended from Timur, Mongol only in the sense that it arose in the kingdom founded by the Mongol Jagatai, Jenghiz Khan's son, in Transoxiana. The Mogul Empire in India came to an end in 1858.

With this quite nominal exception the whole Mongol race has for centuries been subject to other powers, predominantly the Chinese and the Russian Empires. Certain small sections

of them were subdued by or merged in the Persians and Turks. The Mongols were a brave and hardy people, but they never showed themselves capable of consolidating the fruits of victory, of forming a settled type of government, or of gaining the allegiance of conquered peoples. The part they played in the history of the world was transitory, for it virtually came to an end after a century and a half. Their activity during this period was mainly destructive, showing no sign of independent constructive political ability. On the contrary they have tended more and more to assimilate themselves to the superior civilizations with which they came in contact—those of the Chinese, the Russians, and the Persians. Thus in the thirteenth century they adopted Buddhism from the Chinese in the east, and later Christianity from the Russians in the west. When in touch with their kinsmen, the Turks, they for the most part adopted Islam, which they exchanged, like the latter, for their primitive Shamanism. Under these influences they have on the whole become a peaceful, timid, indolent people, steadily losing their racial individuality. It is therefore not in the least likely that they will ever again lead or even join in a career of conquest as they did in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

Branches. The whole Mongolian race may be divided into three branches speaking the three main dialects corresponding to them: (i) The Eastern Mongols, (ii) The Buryats, (iii) The Kalmuks.

i. *The Eastern Mongols*

Habitat. The Eastern Mongols, or Mongols proper, inhabit their original home, Mongolia, which the Chinese divide into Outer and Inner Mongolia. Outer Mongolia, which is continuous on the north and west with Russian territory, is the habitat of the Khalkas, who extend from the north-eastern end of the desert of Gobi to the borders of Russian Siberia. The Khalka people are divided into four great tribes.

The Urianghai territory, which covers an area of about 52,000 square miles in the extreme north-west of Mongolia south of the Sayan range, is inhabited by five main tribes, estimated to number about 100,000, which are now virtually Mongols, but in origin are probably akin to the Samoyed Soyotes of Siberia (p. 83).

Inner Mongolia, which is divided from Outer Mongolia by the desert of Gobi and borders on China Proper and Manchuria along the whole of the north-eastern and eastern frontier, is inhabited by twenty-four tribes, which, from the military divisions in which they are grouped, are known as the Mongols of the Forty-nine Banners.

Besides these there are what the Chinese call the 'Herdsman tribes', especially the Chakhar tribe, which inhabit the territory in immediate proximity to the Great Wall.

Number. The total estimated number of the Mongols proper has already been stated to be 2,580,000 (p. 100). But no approximate trustworthy estimate of each of the main tribes taken separately seems to be obtainable.

Characteristics. Besides the racial and mental characteristics of the Mongols in general already mentioned (p. 101), the people of the eastern branch are described as inquisitive, frank, good-natured, and acute in practical matters. It is to be noted that they have never intermarried with the ruling Chinese race, even in the districts bordering on China. The hold that the Lamaistic Buddhism of Tibet has on the Eastern Mongols is indicated by the fact that the country is covered with lamaserais. It is estimated that the Lamas constitute five-eighths of the population.

Mode of Life. They are genuine nomads, living in tents. Only princes, officials, and soldiers on service live in houses. Their dwellings consist of round huts (*yurtas*) on wooden frameworks covered with felt. In the middle is the hearth, on which only dung is burnt. Opposite the door is the domestic altar. Carpets or felt cloths are used for sleeping or sitting on. The clothes of both sexes are similar and consisted originally of materials derived from cattle and other animals. But horse-hide and felt garments are being gradually replaced by Chinese jackets and cloths. High caps of sheepskin are everywhere usual. The head is shaved, only a large plait being left hanging down the back. The beard is shaved or plucked out. Women wear plaits adorned with corals, ribbons, and beads, and allowed to hang down over the breast. The food of the Mongols is chiefly derived from the products of the cattle they rear. A favourite article is also brick tea prepared with meal, salt, butter, and milk. From milk, butter and cheese are made, and *kumiss* distilled. Brandy is much

drunk, but water not at all. Opium smoking is very general. The Mongols are very dirty in their habits, and bathing is unknown among them, as among the Chinese and the Kalmuks.

Occupations. The principal occupation of the Mongols is cattle-breeding. It is estimated that each family has on the average 50 sheep, 25 horses, 15 horned cattle, and 10 camels. Among their domestic animals goats are included. Their sheep are of the fat-tailed breed. Their cattle are also trained for both carrying and riding. The Mongols engage largely in the transport of goods. It is calculated that 100,000 camels are used for the transport of tea only from Kalgan to Siberia; and that no fewer than 1,200,000 camels and 300,000 ox-carts are employed in the internal caravan trade. The eastern Mongols also to some extent engage in hunting. Agriculture is only practised sporadically, chiefly in the south, where the Mongols have been taught by the Chinese. Various domestic industries are also carried on by them.

Literature. The literature of the Mongols is chiefly religious, consisting mostly in translations from Tibetan and Chinese. Their printed books are few. One of the most noteworthy of these is the *History of the Eastern Mongols*,¹⁵ by the Mongol chief Sanang Setsen, dating from about 1660.

ii. *The Buryats*

Habitat. The Buryats extend from the Chinese frontier in the south as far as lat. 55° on both sides of Lake Baikal, and from the Onon in the east to beyond the Oka in the west towards the town of Nizhni Udinsk. They thus live nearly all round Lake Baikal. Eleven sub-tribes have been distinguished among them—four to the west, and seven to the east of the lake. The Buryats are most numerous on the east side, in the valleys along the Uda and the Onon, and in the neighbourhood of Nerchinsk. These Trans-Baikal Buryats came to their present home only towards the end of the seventeenth century from the territory of the Khalkas in northern Mongolia. They appear to be increasing in numbers.¹⁶

The Buryats round Selingsinsk, who claim Jenghiz Khan as their ancestor, moved northward in the thirteenth century, when they arrived on the upper Amur. Thence they migrated westwards to Lake Baikal.

Characteristics. The Buryats physically resemble the

Kalmuks. They are broad-shouldered and inclined to be stout. They have large heads, square faces, small slanting eyes, high cheek-bones far apart, broad flat noses, low foreheads, thick lips, swarthy and yellow complexions, jet-black hair, and scanty beards. They keep their hair cropped very close except on the crown, where it is made to grow in a long queue hanging down behind.

They are an intellectual, but a phlegmatic and easy-going people, lacking enterprise, but showing some energy when they engage in agriculture.

Mode of Life. The dwellings, or *yurtas*, of the Buryats are not erected in rows, but are scattered about and are surrounded by large enclosures. At some distance there are huge enclosed spaces where cattle graze in winter, and large crops of hay are stored in summer. The Buryats are so fond of their manner of living in their *yurtas* that when they inhabit houses they make a hole in the roof and keep a fire burning in the centre of the floor. In the north they use wood for fuel, but in the south camel's dung. In summer they dress in silk or cotton, but in winter in fur and sheepskin. As food they chiefly eat mutton. They drink brick tea, blending it with rye meal, mutton fat, and salt. They are also fond of drinking intoxicating liquor and of smoking tobacco.

Customs. Marriages are generally arranged by two families exchanging daughters. But if there are only sons, a *kalim*, or bridal price, consisting of cattle has to be paid for the bride, who, however, receives a dowry which counterbalances the *kalim*.

The Buryats used to burn their dead till it was forbidden by the Russian Government. Nevertheless they still sometimes cremate the bodies of Shamans before depositing the remains in the trunks of trees. At Buryat burials a horse is sacrificed.

Occupations. The Buryats are a nomad people occupied with horse and cattle breeding, hunting and fishing. A good many of them, under Russian influence, also cultivate rye and wheat. They are adepts at silversmith work, which is noted throughout Siberia as 'Bratsky work' (Bratsky, 'brother', being the Russian name for the Buryats). They are also skilled in producing leather work and textile fabrics.

Government. The Buryats are under a special Russian steppe government. But their own elders, the Taishas, still

exercise great influence among them. Several clans form a commune, at the head of which is a chief Taisha.

Religion. The Buryats have, nominally at least, adopted either Christianity or Buddhism. Those in the north follow a form of ordinary Buddhism, while those in the east are Lamaists. Among them the Lamas, who form a large portion of the population towards the Chinese frontier, are greatly revered. They lead ascetic lives, refrain from spirits and tobacco, avoid taking animal life, and are celibate. Like the Tibetans they use praying machines. The western Buryats are Christians. But Shamanism has by no means been destroyed among them. It has annexed the crucifix as a symbol for its rites, but shows few signs of otherwise falling under the influence of the cross.

Language. The Buryat dialect¹⁷ is closely akin to the East Mongolian. The phonetic differences between them are slight. Thus the Mongolian *ts* appears in Buryat as *ss*; e.g. *tsak* 'time' in the former is *ssak* in the latter. The relation of the Buryat language to that of the Kalmuks is similar. Three sub-dialects can be distinguished in Buryat.

The Buryats have some books of their own. For writing they use Mongolian characters, which, as has been pointed out, are defective in various respects (p. 102).

iii. *The Kalmuks*

Habitat. The Kalmuks form the western branch of the Mongol race, living partly in Asia and partly in Europe. The Asiatic Kalmuks are found mainly in Chinese territory: in Kobdo and Dzungaria, in East Turkestan, in the eastern portion of the T'ien Shan, on the southern border of the Gobi desert, on the Koko-nor range, and in the province of Kansu. Several hordes are also under Russian sway. They are thus now found in the territory of Semirychensk (near Kulja), and in the southern part of the government of Tomsk on the Altai. Widely separated from these are the European Kalmuks who inhabit the banks of the Volga around Astrakhan and Stavropol towards Saratov, and nomadize on the steppe between the Volga and the Ural.

Number. The total number of the Kalmuks is estimated at 530,000, of whom 370,000 live in Chinese territory and 160,000 in the Russian Empire.¹⁸ In the steppe of the Kalmuks, which

extends between the Caspian and the Volga in the east and the Don in the west, and from the town of Sarepta in the north to the Kuma and the Manich in the south, the Kalmuk population amounts to 76,000; to these are to be added 25,000 more on the borders of the Don Cossacks; and lastly 8,000 in the adjoining provinces of Orenburg and Saratov; making altogether 109,000 in European Russia. The remaining 50,000 or so are in Asiatic Russia.

Name. The name 'Kalmuk' is used only by the Volga Mongols in the form of Khalimak, and even among them is not common as a designation of themselves, but is rather applied to them by the Tatars (Turks). The Kalmuks on the Altai are also called Black¹⁹ or mountain Kalmuks as distinguished from the Turkified white Kalmuks (or Teleuts) of the Government of Tomsk. Kalmuk is probably a Tatar word, but it is as yet unexplained. The Tatars also call them Ölöt (Eleuts), while the Eastern Mongols designate them Ogeled. The favourite name among the Kalmuks themselves is 'Mongol Oirad' or 'Mongol related tribe'. The 'Dorbon Oirad' or 'Four related Tribes', of which the Kalmuks have consisted from ancient times, are the Dzungars in Dzungaria, the Torgod²⁰ in Kobdo, the Koshod,²¹ and the Dorbot (Dörböt).

Characteristics. The physique of the Kalmuks completely coincides with that of the eastern Mongolians, with whose manners and customs theirs are also closely allied.

Occupations. The Kalmuks are nomads, chiefly occupied with cattle-breeding. Their trade consists in bartering cattle for corn, woollen clothing, cooking utensils, and other requirements.

Government. Among the Chinese and Siberian Kalmuks the administration is in the hands of their tribal chiefs. The Russian Kalmuks have as their chief a Lama who is appointed by the Russian Government and who lives in Bazar Kalmuk on the Volga near Astrakhan. As regards education the Russian Government has done much for the Kalmuks in recent times.

Religion. The Kalmuks in Chinese territory are mostly Lamaist Buddhists. In Siberia they have here and there adopted Christianity. Some, again, have taken Islam from the Tatars with whom they have been in contact. Thus in 1904 a 'prophet' among the Kalmuks of the Altai region

caused a ferment which led to the assassination of the Russian district administrator.

Language. The language of the Kalmuks differs only slightly from that of the Eastern Mongols. The dialectic difference very frequently lies only in a divergent pronunciation of certain sounds. Thus East Mongolian *ds* appears in Kalmuk as a soft *s* (= *z*). The characteristic Turanian vowel harmony has in Kalmuk reversed its direction, the vowels of the endings influencing those of the roots instead of *vice versa*.

Writing. The characters of the Kalmuk script are an extended and improved variety of those of the Eastern Mongols. They were devised in 1648 on the basis of the latter. They have a rounded appearance as compared with the Mongolian letters. New signs were added so that each sound of the language has its distinct graphic character. Hence no letter is ambiguous or liable to be mistaken for another. The Kalmuk writing is therefore the key to the other Mongolian dialects, which it enables the reader to understand easily. The Kalmuk orthography is phonetic, while the Mongolian is historical. Thus in the spoken language a *g* between vowels is dropped, the vowels then contracting; e. g. *khān* (originally *khagan*) is pronounced in both dialects, while *khān* is written in Kalmuk, but *khagan* in Mongolian; similarly Kalmuk *nōr* 'lake', Mongol *nagor*, but both pronounced *nōr*.

Literature. The Kalmuks have, in addition to written laws, a literature consisting mostly of poetry and historical traditions mingled with sagas; an heroic epic poem,²² and a collection of fairy tales.²³

History. Nothing is known of the early history of the Kalmuks; but from the beginning of the seventeenth century we begin to obtain information about their migrations and other political events. Before 1600 there were probably no Kalmuks west of the Altai. From their original seats in Dzungaria parts of the 'Four related Tribes' turned in their migrations to the north, first to the Altai, then westward across the steppe of the Kirghiz to the head waters of the Tobol, and gradually reached the Emba and the Or. Between these two rivers and the Ural the Torgod settled in 1616. Thence they crossed the Volga in 1650 and took possession of the now so-called steppe of the Kalmuks. They were followed in 1672 by the Dörböt, and in 1675 by the Koshod. Meanwhile a

chief named Galdan, who became famous in Central Asia, founded in 1671 a kingdom of short duration by subjecting all the Ölöt (Kalmuk) tribes, the Telenget and the Kirghiz, and expelling from their home the Khalka Mongols, who migrated to the neighbourhood of their kinsmen the Buryats on Lake Baikal. Galdan in 1696 was defeated by a nephew, who with the help of the Chinese put himself at the head of the Dzungar Kalmuks and founded the Dzungarian Kingdom at Ili. This kingdom, however, only lasted till 1757, when it was destroyed by the Chinese. Those of the Kalmuks who had remained behind in the seventeenth century resolved in 1703 to escape from the persecutions of the Dzungarian king, and settled down in Russia between the Yaik (Ural) and Volga. Some 40,000 Koshod, Dörböt, and Dzungars in 1759 fled before the Chinese conquerors of Dzungaria to the Volga. After the Torgod, at the invitation of the Chinese Emperor, had in 1771 returned to Ili, a large part of the other Kalmuk tribes, dissatisfied with Russian rule, returned amid great danger and privations to China. Out of 169,000 about 100,000 are said to have perished. Those who remained in Russia have since the end of the eighteenth century lived peacefully as nomads on the steppe between Volga and Ural. Besides the Kalmuks some Buryats returned to Chinese territory, which hereby gained a large accession of population. Since then the Kalmuks, like the Mongols, have lived as peaceful subjects of the Chinese Empire.

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Buryats: Howorth, *op. cit.*, vol. i, pp. 681-92.

Kalmuks: Bergmann, *Nomadische Streifereien unter den Kalmücken*, 4 vols., Riga, 1804-5. Wenjukow, *Die russisch-asiatischen Grenzlande*, Leipzig, 1874. Howorth, *op. cit.*, vol. i, ch. ix, pp. 497-533 (Koshod), ch. x, pp. 534-89.

NOTES

¹ There were in 1897 only 402 Eastern Mongolians (belonging to the Khalka tribe) in Siberia.

² According to *Asiatic Russia*. Miss Czaplicka, *Aboriginal Siberia*, p. 20, gives the number as 288,599; Meyer, *Konversationslexikon*, as 208,000.

³ Cp. Howorth, *History of the Mongols*, vol. i, p. 27 (London, 1876).

⁴ Cp. Castrén, *Ethnologische Vorlesungen*, p. 33.

⁵ Who, however, was more of a Turk than a Mongol.

⁶ On the modification of this feature in Kalmuk see p. 112.

⁷ Cp. d'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, vol. i, Historical Map of Asia, facing p. 1, lat. 45° N. and long. 80–90° E.

⁸ De Guignes, *Histoire générale des Huns, des Turcs, des Mongols et des autres Tartares occidentaux*, 4 vols., Paris, 1756–8: vol. i, p. 224; *Allgemeine Geschichte der Hunnen und Türken*, Greifswald, 1770, Introduction, p. 261.

⁹ *Mémoires relatifs à l'Asie*, vol. ii, p. 378 ff. (Paris, 1826).

¹⁰ *Die Erdkunde von Asien*, vol. i, p. 241 (Berlin, 1832).

¹¹ Cp. Castrén, *Ethnologische Vorlesungen*, p. 36.

¹² *Die Völker des südlichen Russlands in ihrer geschichtlichen Entwicklung*, Leipzig, 1847, p. 30.

¹³ Chief of the Mongolian tribe of the Ordos.

¹⁴ Klaproth, *op. cit.* (note 9).

¹⁵ Edited in Mongol and German by Schmidt, St. Petersburg, 1829.

¹⁶ Cp. p. 100, and note 9.

¹⁷ Castrén wrote a Buryat grammar and dictionary (ed. by Schiefner), St. Petersburg, 1857; there is also a grammar of the Mongol Buryat language by Orlow (in Russian), Kazan, 1878.

¹⁸ Among the Kalmuks should be counted the Hazaras, estimated at 600,000, a pure Mongolian race who wander about as herdsmen in Afghanistan between Herat and Kabul. They occupy all the highlands of the upper Helmand valley, as well as a strip of territory on the frontier slopes of the Hindu Kush north of Kabul. In the western provinces they are known as the four Aimak or 'tribes'. They are descendants of military colonists introduced by Jenghiz Khan. They are Shiite Mohammedans. Their language, which shows Persian influence, is strictly Mongolian, more particularly Kalmuk, according to von der Gabelentz. Cp. the *Military Report on Hazarajat* (General Staff, India, 1910), where the approximate strength of the principal tribes is given as about 518,000.

¹⁹ See map in Howorth, *op. cit.*, opposite p. 384, lat. 47° N., long. 90° E.

²⁰ *Op. cit.*, ch. x, long. 85° E.

²¹ *Ibid.*, long. 90° E.; see ch. ix.

²² Edited in Kalmuk, St. Petersburg, 1864; translated into German by Erdmann, 1857.

²³ Translated into German, Leipzig, 1866.

CHAPTER VI

THE TURKISH DIVISION

Habitat. The Turks inhabit an area which in geographical extent and variety of climate and soil is equalled by the home of no other people. The territory occupied by them forms an almost continuous band across Asia into eastern Europe, between the extreme limits of long. 150° E. in the east to long. 25° E. in the west, and of lat. 35° N. in the south to lat. 55° N. in the north, reaching at one point in the north-east as far as lat. 75° N. This Turkish territory is bounded in the south by Tibet, Afghanistan, Persia, and Arabia; in the north by Siberia and northern Russia; in the east by Mongolia; and in the west by the Don, the Black Sea, and the eastern Mediterranean. Starting from their original home, the Altai Mountains, they have overspread to the north-east and the west a vast area, limited chiefly to Asia, but also reaching in Europe as far west as the Crimea and the south-eastern corner of the Balkan peninsula. Their rule, based on the conquest of alien populations, still nominally includes Mesopotamia, Syria, Palestine, and Northern Arabia, and formerly extended temporarily to Persia, Afghanistan, and India; in Africa to Algiers (till 1830) and Egypt (till 1914); in Europe to the whole Balkan peninsula, and (till 1600) even to the plains of Hungary.

Turks and Mongols. Though ethnographically the Turks are not easy to differentiate in physique and customs from the Mongols, there is at the present day no difficulty in distinguishing between Turks and Mongols. The former speak Turkish dialects, are Moslems by religion, live almost entirely in the western half of Asia, and fall within the Arabic and, to some extent, the European sphere of influence; the latter speak Mongolian languages, are Buddhists by religion, live in the eastern half of Asia, and fall within the sphere of Chinese influence. The difficulty of ethnographical demarcation between these two racial divisions is partly due to the physical

affinity of the Turks to the Mongols being closer than to any other branch of the Turanians, and partly to the former fluid condition of the tribes of the different Turanian divisions in Central Asia. Hordes belonging to one branch when engaged in raids were often joined by hordes belonging to another. Thus the Mongolian hordes of the conqueror Jenghiz Khan (1162-1227) were joined by contingents of Turks, who were probably far more numerous than the Mongols themselves; for the chief traces left in Europe of the Mongol invasion consist in the Turkish-speaking Tatars¹ in Russia; and the name of Jenghiz Khan's son Jagatai is commonly applied to a Turkish dialect and Khanate in the region of the Oxus. It was also the Turks who, set in motion by the Mongol invasions, were responsible for the introduction of Mohammedanism into Europe, as well as largely responsible for the introduction of Mohammedanism into India.

Number. Nearly one-half of the Turkish race inhabits Russian territory, more than one-third the Ottoman Empire, and the rest (more than one-seventh) parts of China, Persia, and Afghanistan. In Russian territory there are over 12,500,000, under 4,500,000 of these being in Europe. In Turkey there are 1,891,000 on European² and about 8,000,000³ on Asiatic soil, making altogether less than 10,000,000. In Chinese Turkestan there are about 1,000,000 Turks, scattered about in Persia about 2,000,000, and in the north of Afghanistan about 500,000, the total of Turks in these three countries being thus about 3,500,000. The aggregate number of all the Turks in the world is therefore about 26,000,000.⁴ These figures may be expressed as follows in a tabulated form:—

THE TURKISH PEOPLE	
<i>In Europe.</i>	<i>In Asia.</i>
In European Turkey:	
Osmanli Turks	1,891,000
In Russia:	In Asiatic Russia 8,191,315 ⁵
Volga Turks	„ „ Turkey 8,000,000
Caucasian Turks	„ Chinese Turkestan 1,000,000
CrimeanTurksandNogaians 180,000	„ Persia 2,000,000
Bashkirs	„ Afghanistan 500,000
	Total 19,691,315
Total in Europe	6,328,300
Total in Asia	19,691,315
Grand total	<u>26,019,615</u>

Name. The term Turk is now primarily applied to the Osmanli branch of the race which conquered Constantinople (in 1453) and the regions known as Turkey. The word is probably derived from *Tu-kiu* (*T'u-chueh*), the name of a new tribe mentioned by the Chinese as appearing in High Asia in the sixth century, after the empire of the Hiung-nu had been destroyed. 'Tu-kiu' is first used by the Chinese in recording the events of A.D. 545 and the following years. The ethnic designation *Τούρκοι* (Turks) first occurs among the Byzantines, in particular in the account⁶ given by Zemarchos of his journey in A.D. 568 as ambassador sent by the Emperor Justin II from Constantinople to a Turkish chief in the Altai mountains. To the Arabs the name first became known on missionary journeys and during their conquest of Transoxiana (c. 650). The first Turkish source (written in Turkish) in which the name Turk appears is the *Kudatku Bilik* (A.D. 1070). The Turkish-speaking tribes of Russia, who are mostly Moslems and of Turkish origin, go by the name of Tatars,⁷ a term which not only was and is unknown to the Turks proper as an ethnic designation, but is regarded as an insult if applied to them.⁸ It was introduced into Europe by the Russians, who at the time of Jenghiz Khan gave this name to the Mongols and Turks as a whole, because the vanguard of his army, when it appeared, consisted of the tribe called Tatar. In the Middle Ages it was used as synonymous with 'barbarian'.⁹ The term 'Turco-Tatar' is generally used by scholars to designate non-Russian Turks. In order to avoid confusion it is preferable to employ the general name Turk with a local or dynastic qualification where necessary, as is done here: Siberian Turks, Volga Turks, Seljuk Turks, and so on.

Language. The Turkish languages are remarkably uniform. Allowing for the lapse of time and the importation of foreign words, it is hardly an exaggeration to say that from the Lena to Constantinople, from the old Turkish (Uigur) inscriptions of the eighth century down to the present time, we have merely one language in different dialects. The native vocabulary and grammar remains substantially the same in all of them.

Writing. The resemblance between Turkish dialects is increased by the fact that they are nearly all written in a somewhat artificial and standardized form. For the Arabic characters, though extremely ill-suited to represent Turkish

sounds, are everywhere used by Mohammedan Turks. Hence pure Turkish words written in Arabic letters are often hardly intelligible even to Turks. Turkish-speaking Armenians and Greeks often write in their own alphabets. Turkish newspapers printed in Armenian characters are published in Constantinople, and Greek characters are similarly employed in several parts of Asia Minor.

In the Middle Ages the Ugurs and eastern Turks used a short alphabet of fourteen letters borrowed from a Syriac source, and probably introduced among them by Nestorian missionaries.¹⁰ The most interesting forms of Turkish writing are represented by the inscriptions found in Siberia near the Yenisei and Orkhon rivers, first discovered in 1722. Still more important are the inscriptions discovered in 1889 in Mongolia, south of Lake Baikal, one of them in Turkish and Chinese dating from A. D. 733, and another dating from 800 to 805. The script is derived from the Aramaic alphabet.

Ethnic affinities and types. Ethnically the Turks are closely akin to the Ugrians; but their affinity to the Mongols is still greater, both physically and linguistically. Thus the Mongolian language has, besides identity of many forms, more than half its vocabulary in common with Turkish. Owing to this intimate kinship and to the admixture of foreign blood during centuries of migration, it is no easy matter to set up a general but distinctive Turkish racial type. The predominant characteristics of the Turkish physique may, however, be said to be the following: a short, thick-set body, with broad, strong bones, a large brachycephalic head, small slanting eyes, low forehead, flat nose, broad chin, scanty beard, black or brown hair, dark (almost yellow) complexion. These are the characteristics of the Kazak-Kirghiz, whom Vambéry¹¹ considers to be the best representatives of the proper Turkish type, since they are still found in their old home, have not been much drawn into the stream of world-historic events, and so have maintained the primitive Turkish mode of life more faithfully than their other kinsmen. This Kazak-Kirghiz type, if emphasized, would coincide with the Mongolian type, which there is good reason to believe most nearly represents the proto-Turanians before they separated into their five main branches.

Religion. Shamanism, the original religion of the Turks, has survived almost alone among the Turks of Siberia, of

whom, to the number of over 300,000, this is the real faith. But even these are mostly nominal Christians. There are also about 30,000 Christians among the Volga Turks. Otherwise practically the whole Turkish race are followers of Islam, which they adopted in the first few centuries after the rise of that religion. More or less distinct traces of their ancient faith, however, survive in all their tribes. Of what their original religion was like in early times we have some evidence from Turkish archaeology and ancient inscriptions, as well as from old Arabic, Byzantine, and Chinese writers. Thus, images have been found in Turkish graves buried with the body, as well as carvings of animals sacrificed for the funeral feast. The Arabic writer Abulghazi tells of a custom from the heathen period of the Turks: on the death of a beloved member of the family, a kind of doll or image was made, kept for a long time in the house,¹² offered food, carefully cleaned, and finally prayed to. Theophanes (6th cent.), in his detailed account of the embassy sent in the sixth century by the Byzantine Emperor Justin II to Mogan Khan in the Altai, tells how it was received on arrival in Sogdiana by men who warded off misfortune by means of bells and drums: Shamans are here doubtless meant.¹³ The Chinese, in describing the religion of the Turks, state that they worshipped fire, air, water, earth, and that they had a god whom they revered as Creator of the world and to whom they sacrificed horses, cattle, and sheep. At the beginning of the year they assembled at the capital of the Khan in the Altai in order to offer these sacrifices to the Creator in a valley in which their ancestors had lived. In the fifth month they assembled again and sacrificed to the other gods, to heaven, earth, air, water, fire, and to the spirits of their ancestors; while in the autumn they made offerings to the tutelary deities of the soil, the fields, and the meadows.¹⁴ A branch of the Turks giving an account of itself in the early part of the eighth century mentions heaven or *Tangri*¹⁵ as its chief deity, and its worship of spirits of the earth and waters.

It is probable that before they adopted Islam the Turks also practised Buddhism, Zoroastrianism, and Nestorian Christianity in a desultory way in Turkestan. Thus we know from the archaeological discoveries, during the last twenty years, of Dr. Sven Hedin, Sir Aurel Stein, Dr. von Le Coq, and other

scholars near Khotan, Turfan, and other localities in the same region, as well as from the travels of the Chinese pilgrims who visited India by way of Central Asia between A.D. 400 and 700, that Buddhism flourished in East Turkestan from about the beginning of our era down to about A.D. 800. We are further told by one of these pilgrims, Hsüan Tsang, who was entertained by the Khan of the Western Turks near Tokmak c. A.D. 630, that the Turks here were fire-worshippers, and would not sit on wooden seats. The evidence of MSS. discovered by the above-named explorers during their excavations shows that there were followers of Nestorian Christianity and even of Manichaeism in East Turkestan during the fifth and seventh centuries.

Character and Civilization. The Turks are imitative rather than original. In all their branches they have to some extent assimilated the nearest civilization with which they came in contact. Thus the only culture which they possessed up to the seventh century of our era consisted in scraps of Chinese and Indian civilization. Later, the eastern and western states founded by them adopted Perso-Arabic civilization along with Mohammedanism. The Osmanlis have in addition absorbed the Byzantine and the West European influences to which they have been subjected. The Turk, apart from the effect of foreign civilizations, has uniformly been described in earlier times by Chinese, Persians, Byzantines, and Arabs as by nature savage, untameable, faithless, heartless, rapacious, and work-shy. The verdict of modern times endorses this judgment. The course of history shows that no other race has brought such devastations and massacres, such lasting derangements, into the life of other nations. The Turk has, moreover, displayed no power of developing his own civilization, which has consequently remained far behind that of both the Iranians and the Semites. Nor has the Turk ever exhibited any political capacity; for he has only succeeded in establishing one single State of any permanence, and that State has been a glaring example of incorrigible misgovernment. Thus he has come to be regarded as the personified opponent of modern civilization, the arch-enemy of Europe, from which he should be expelled at all costs; and the watchword of both past and present has been 'Down with the Turk'.

The fundamental cause of the secular conflict between Turk

and Aryan has been the former's love of wandering and the accompanying love of war, which has been more developed in him than in the nomads of any other race. But the complete failure of the Turk has been due to the combination of two unfortunate circumstances. In the first place, the cultivable soil of the ancient world had already been appropriated by the Chinese, the Aryans, and the Semites. For the Turk, when he came on the scene, there were only left the barren steppes of Central Asia, on which he could maintain his herds and flocks only by constantly shifting his dwelling-place. Such conditions naturally led to attacks and raids on the more prosperous settled peoples in the neighbourhood, and the struggle thus begun has lasted for thousands of years. In the second place, an unfortunate fate brought the Turks, at the time of their intensive activity, into contact with Islam, which confirmed them in many of the dangerous aspects of Asiatic modes of life and thought, while they lost many of the good sides of their previous civilization. They early became the sword of Islam, and from the Crusades onwards down to the battle of Plevna and the recent Balkan wars, to the massacres of Armenians and the persecutions of the Syrians in the present war, it has been the Turks in most cases, whether in Europe, Asia, or Africa, who have appeared as the champions of the teaching of Mohammed and of the Asiatic world-view. They have been subdued by Russia throughout Siberia and Central Asia, and have lost nearly all their independent territory in Europe. In the present war they have further been deprived of a considerable area in Asia, and in Africa of the sovereignty over Egypt. It remains to be seen whether the political existence of the only remaining independent section of a race that for thousands of years has exercised a gigantic influence on the fortunes of Asia and Europe will survive. If it falls a remarkable drama in the history of the world will have come to an end. The Turks may be able to save themselves by combining the national Turkish elements into a single homogeneous State. In that case they might either enter the circle of cultured nations on a peaceful basis; or, if organized according to the Prussian gospel of force, they might become a more permanently disturbing element in the world than they have been in their unorganized past.

Migrations. Linguistic and ethnic evidence, corroborated

by the geographical distribution of the Turanians, make it probable that the Finno-Ugrian branch had long ago started on their north-westward migration to Europe at a time when the Turks were still in the steppe region of the Altai, in immediate proximity to their nearest kin, the Mongols, leading beside them their primitive nomad life. Archaeological evidence indicates that the westward extension of the Turkish people began from the Altai and Sayan mountains, where to this very day lies the boundary between the Turks and the Mongols, and that it reached from there to the northern coast of the Black Sea in very early times. The images found in the graves near the Sea of Azov show an unmistakably Turkish type: large head, flat nose, small slanting eyes, and beardlessness—just the portrait that Jordanes gives of Attila. The degree of civilization, as revealed by antiquities, differed but little in those early days among the Turks from that which the Russians found in Southern Siberia a few centuries ago.¹⁶ We have, however, no positive evidence as to the period when the Turks separated from the Mongols. It is not till the fifth century after Christ that Turkish movements into Europe become historical.

There have been two lines of Turkish westward migration, both starting from a common centre, but diverging to the north and the south. The northern movement extended from the Altai to the Volga, its general direction being represented by the Trans-Siberian Railway. A comparatively small section of the Turks followed this line. Starting from their original home in the steppe country, about the upper courses of the Yenisei, the Ob, and the Irtysh, in a north-westerly direction, they crossed the Tobol, and spread westward as far as the gradual withdrawal of the Finno-Ugrians permitted. They probably did not reach, at least in appreciable numbers, beyond the Volga, because their farther advance on the middle course of that stream was stopped by various Ugrian tribes such as the Mordvins, as well as by the Slavs.

The southern migration, comprising the great bulk of the Turks, moved partly eastward after crossing the T'ien Shan, partly westward, long before historic times.

To the south-eastern movement belonged the Ugurs, whom Chinese chronicles already mention in 400 B.C. as living west of Lop-nor, and who must early have moved from the Upper

Irish across the T'ien Shan, and by the Urumchi of to-day towards the desert of Lop, but without taking possession of its southern margin, which was occupied by an Aryan colony.¹⁷ Nor did the eastern boundary of the Turks extend beyond the Kumul or Hami of to-day. But all the farther did the main stream move towards the west. It must have been Turkish hordes which, advancing across the ancient Sogdiana, attacked and destroyed the empire founded by Alexander the Great, and during the period of the Sassanids nomadized on the eastern frontier of Iran. It could only have been Turks who, in the heroic legends of Iran, are described as naked foes resembling monsters that lived to the north of this land. Extending from the T'ien Shan to Asia Minor, the south-western line was much longer than the north-western. The single units—Kazaks, Uzbegs, Turkmens, Osmanlis, and others, of which it consists like a chain—are also much more compact. They all speak the same group of dialects, and have always been in close touch with one another. But their movement was much slower than that of the north-western line, because it was first checked by Iran, Rome, and Armenia, and later by Russia, Byzantium, and Hungary. The north-western line of migration, on the other hand, was both much shorter and found less resistance in the Slavs and Ugrians, with the latter of whom they, to a considerable extent, even amalgamated.¹⁸ It is somewhat remarkable that these two migrations were brought to a standstill at their extreme ends by Ugrian peoples, another branch of the Turanian race which had preceded the Turks on their westward wandering.

The fragments of Turkish peoples left behind by the Mongolian irruption, such as the Nogaians, constituted a chain connecting the extremities of the northern and the southern migrations of the Turks.

History. Our chief sources for the early history of the Turks are Chinese Annals and the works of the Arabic Mohammedan authors Rashid-ed-din, Abulghazi, and several others. The account given by the latter of the origin of the Turks is obviously fabulous. In the mythical genealogy with which they begin, Turk, as one of the eight sons of Japhet, is here stated to have settled in the region of Lake Issik-kul and of the river Ili.¹⁹ One of his descendants had twin sons, of whom the one was called Tatar, the other Mongol. The implication

of close kinship in the latter statement at any rate confirms the conclusion otherwise arrived at as to the intimate relationship of the Turkish and the Mongolian divisions of the Turanian family.

Early Chinese sources, especially about 200 B.C., make mention of warlike nomads called Hiung-nu, who were a danger to the Empire. They seem to have wandered on the north and north-west frontiers of China, chiefly in the region of the In Shan range, whence they made frequent raids into Chinese territory. As a protection against their attacks, the Chinese built their great wall. According to a Chinese annalist of the first century B.C., the Hiung-nu were an extremely savage and warlike people. Their whole education consisted in training for war, which was their chief occupation. They were a nation of horsemen, who at the same time were hunters and cattle-breeders. Grazing their horses, asses, camels, cows, and sheep along fertile rivers, they wandered about without settling anywhere, and nowhere built cities or castles. Their clothes were made of the skins or the hair of animals. They believed that the washing and drying of anything soiled was displeasing to the gods, who punished such action with thunder and lightning.²⁰ There can be little doubt that the Hiung-nu are identical with the nomad horde called Huns, who under Attila made a devastating raid across Europe, and were in A.D. 451 ultimately defeated in France. It is more doubtful whether they belonged to the Turk or to the Mongol division of the Turanian family. Such indications as there are seem to favour the latter alternative. No mention of any of the chiefs of the Hiung-nu is made till Teuman (214 B.C.), whose son in 209 B.C. became the real founder of the Hiung-nu Empire. Between 177 and 165 B.C. he subjected nearly the whole of High Asia, conquered Turkestan and Bokhara, and extended his dominions to the Caspian. The Hiung-nu at this time drove before them the tribe called Yüeh-chi, who divided into two hordes, one of which invaded the valley of the Indus, while the other expelled the Sacae from East Turkestan and drove them into the valley of the Ili. About the beginning of our era we hear of the existence in East Turkestan of several independent cities, of which Khotan was the most important.

Dissensions among the Hiung-nu led to their empire, in

A. D. 48, splitting into a northern and a southern half. The northern section on being attacked, with the assistance of the Chinese, by the southern division, migrated north-westwards to the region of the Aral Sea, where the Kazaks wander as nomads at the present day.

In the sixth century a new tribe, the Tu-kiu (T'u-chüeh), appeared in High Asia. After the Empire of the Hiung-nu had been destroyed, their remaining hordes were driven by the Chinese to the shores of Lake Balkhash. But even here they found no rest from their enemies. A legend preserved by the Chinese narrates that at last only a single boy survived. He was nourished by a she-wolf²¹ till both were by some higher power carried off to a mountain situated to the north-east of the land of the Uigurs. Here they entered a cave through which they came to a fertile valley 20,000 miles in extent. In this locality the she-wolf bore ten young, who grew up to be warriors and captured wives for themselves. Their leader was the wolf-son Assena or Tsena ('wolf'): even in his time the wolf clan had come to consist of 500 persons, who by reason of their origin had a wolf's head as their banner.²² Their valley soon became too small for them; obliged to abandon it, they scattered in the glens of the Gold Mountain (Altai). After they had settled at the foot of a hill resembling a helmet, which in their language was called *tu-kiu*, the people adopted Tu-kiu (the Chinese phonetic equivalent of Türk) as their own name.

Chinese sources of the sixth century furnish a good deal of information about the Turkish institutions and customs of that time. The following are among their statements: The Khan was invested with supreme power. Marriage was effected by arrangement, not capture. Amusements consisted of singing, playing at dice, drinking *kumiss* to the point of intoxication. They had a written alphabet, and used a duodenary cycle in which the years were designated by the names of animals.

The period 546-82 was the first brilliant epoch of early Turkish history. The tribes, united under the leadership of Tumen, who took the title of Il-khan, made astonishing progress. Though the chief of what had been only a servile clan in China fifty years before, he had acquired so powerful a position that he was able in 567 to send an embassy to the Byzantine Emperor Justin II, with a view to establishing commercial relations, especially in the silk trade, with the

west, and to co-operating with the Greeks against the Persians. The Emperor sent a return embassy under Zemarchos, who describes their reception and the barbaric pomp and luxury at the court of the Khan. The Turks at that time were not only masters of Transoxiana, but also of Khorasan to the south-west of the Oxus, receiving tribute from the settled Aryans in that region. Nevertheless, they kept to their nomadic manner of life and remained in the steppes on the other side of the Yaxartes as far as the Altai. Menander, who has preserved the fragments of Zemarchos, calls the Turks of the embassy Sacae, which is also the name given by the Byzantines to the Turks beyond the Oxus and the Yaxartes. The Khan's Turks were evidently not Kirghiz (Kazaks), because he presented Zemarchos with a Kirghiz female slave captured by himself. Several names mentioned by Zemarchos are Turkish, such as Tarkhan, Khakan; and Talas is the name of a place still existing on the edge of the Kirghiz steppe. The Volga, the Ural, and the Emba already had Turkish names at that time.²³ Several embassies were subsequently exchanged between the Turkish Khans and the Byzantine Emperors, and in 620-8 the Turks assisted Heraclius in his campaign against Persia.

In 582 the Turks split into two Khanates, which are heard of for a century and a half: the northern near Lake Baikal and the southern tributaries of the Yenisei; and the western, with two head-quarters, the one near Urumchi and the other north of Tashkent. But their conquests and raids extended much farther west and south than these names imply.

In 630 the Chinese pilgrim Hsüan Tsang (Yüan Chwang)²⁴ was, on his way to India, well received by the western Turkish Khan, who exercised some kind of authority from Turfan to Merv. The western branch was independent till about 650, and lasted as a political name till about 750. From about 650 the conquests of the Arabs, as a result of the preaching of Mohammed, led to the subjection of Persia followed by that of Transoxiana. Meanwhile dissensions had broken out among the western Turks, between the tribes on the western and those on the eastern side of Lake Issik-kul. The Chinese in 659 seized this opportunity to declare the annexation of the whole territory of the western Turks, including Dzungaria, Tashkent, Ferghana, Bokhara, Khulm, Badakshan, Ghazni, Bamian, Udyana, Wakhan, and Karateghin. For a whole century

(650-750) the possession of these domains was disputed, not only by the Chinese, but also by the Tibetans in the east and the Arabs in the west. Soon after 700, however, the Mohammedan conquest of Transoxiana was completed. In the east the really effective power seems to have been exercised by a new Turkish tribe called Turgash, which had capitals at Tokmak and Ili.

For the history of the northern Turks, our only authorities are the Orkhon and Yenisei inscriptions as well as Chinese writers. The half century following the division of the Turks (582) was prosperous for the northern branch. Their growing power made them a menace to the Chinese, who however conquered them in 630. This is the 'Chinese servitude' mentioned in the inscriptions. In 682 Kutluk re-established a Turkish State on the Orkhon. He was succeeded by his brother, the great chief Kapagan Khagan (691-716), who either subdued or drove southward the Turgash early in the eighth century. In 744 the northern Khanate was destroyed by a coalition of the Uigur and two other, probably Turkish, tribes.

The Uigurs²⁵ established themselves at Balasaghun (near Lake Issik-kul) in the middle of the eighth century. That they were Turks is certain from the evidence of words taken down by early travellers and of the literary relics in the Uigur language. They already possessed an advanced civilization in the fourth century, as is shown by the records of a Chinese pilgrim who in A.D. 399 found west of Lop-nor 4,000 strict Buddhists among the Uigurs.²⁶ In A.D. 478 the Chinese mention the writing of the Uigurs, and in the same century state that the Uigurs possessed a number of translations from Chinese works. In 515 and 528 the Uigurs sent requests to China for various Chinese books and a Chinese teacher. According to a later Chinese authority, not only Indian Buddhism but Persian Zoroastrianism, Nestorian Christianity, and even Manichaeism flourished side by side among the Uigurs in the tenth century. The Chinese at this period give an account of the capital of the Uigurs, and state that there were eighteen cities in their territory.²⁷ They describe the Uigur country as producing corn and fruits of all kinds, and as well adapted for silk culture. They also mention that the Uigurs had their own writing, though they also used that of the Chinese, while some of them spoke Arabic. They observe that the wedding and

funeral ceremonies of the Uigurs were the same as those of the Chinese, but that their customs were otherwise identical with those of the Turks. In the Khanates of Jenghiz Khan's successors, the Uigurs were highly respected for their learning and were employed in all the highest offices. But later various peoples, other Turks, Mongols, and Chinese, migrated into their country; through the constant influence of Arabs and Moslem Turks they gradually lost their peculiar culture; and when they coalesced with the eastern Turks their name vanished from history.

From the middle of the eighth century we hear nothing of the Turks for about 200 years. But in the tenth century Turkish adventurers appear as founders of the dynasty of the Ghaznevids at Ghazni. About the same time we hear of an Uigur kingdom which extended from Issik-kul to Kashgar. Satok Boghra Khan, the ruler of this kingdom, was converted to Islam soon after A.D. 941, and his dynasty lasted till 1120. The earliest product of Turkish literature, the poem called *Kudatku Bilik*, 'the Blessed Knowledge', which was finished at Kashgar in 1070, gives a picture of life in East Turkestan after its conversion to Islam, which still shows traces of Chinese influence. But after this period nearly all Turks, except a few obscure tribes like the Yakuts, adopted the Perso-Arabic civilization. Several of the Turkish tribes, however, such as the Kazaks, the Turkmens, the Yürüks of Asia Minor, retained their nomad mode of life, and have not yet abandoned it. But all Turks, whether nomad or settled, have throughout the course of their history, down to the present day, shown two national characteristics: submissiveness to their own authorities, combined with attachment to the despotic form of government; and as fighters the power of initiative independent of their officers—a trait noticed both by the ancient Chinese and by modern European officers.

In the tenth century information about the Turks is also supplied by the Emperor Constantinus Porphyrogenitus, who in 940 wrote his treatise *De administrando imperio*. By that time Turkish hordes were already getting nearer the frontiers of the Byzantine Empire and eastern Europe. The collective name of Turk was also already giving way to tribal names such as Khazar, Pecheneg, Ghuz, and Uz. Of the Pechenegs, who were a purely Turkish tribe, the Emperor tells that at

first they dwelt on the Volga and the Ural, but about 890, pushed by the Uz, they settled in the steppe regions of the Don and the Dnieper—a statement confirmed by the Russian annals, which place the appearance of this people on the frontier of Russia about A.D. 915. The Turks are described by the Emperor as an eminently warlike nation of riders, divided into tribes and clans, mostly nomad, paying great attention to their horses, which they allowed to graze in the open, summer and winter; a people hardened against the severities of climate, hunger, and thirst. This account corresponds exactly to the life and character of the Turkish nomads of to-day, such as the Turkmens and Kazaks.

The accounts of the Turks by Arabic writers that have come down to us from the tenth century are more detailed and concrete. The two oldest of them, Ibn Dasta and Ibn Fozlan, speak only of the western Turks on the Volga and the Black Sea, of the Bashkirs and Pechenegs, as well as of the Magyars. Mas'udi (943–8) in particular gives a very trustworthy picture of the Turks. To the same century belong several other Arab writers who supply information about the Turks. These Arabs give the collective name of Ghuz to all the Turkish nomads that wandered on the steppes east of the Volga, beginning from the north of the Caspian and the Aral Sea, and extending southward towards Dehistan, their neighbours in the north being the Bashkirs and in the west the Pechenegs. Mas'udi, who divides them into upper, lower, and middle Ghuz, speaks of their capital as situated about a mile from the Yaxartes and two miles from its mouth in the Aral Sea. All the Turkish nomads in the north of Iran are called Ghuz and are referred to as the plague of their civilized neighbours from of old. To the tenth century belongs the rise of the Seljuks, the leaders of the Kabaks, a tribe of the Ghuz, first heard of in Transoxiana about 985. The activities of their chiefs resulted in turning the Turkish dynasty which had established itself in 962 at Ghazni (between Kabul and Kandahar) towards India, the north-western part of which became a Mohammedan conquest between 1001 and 1026.²⁸ The Seljuk chiefs established themselves as protectors of the Abbasid Caliph, who formally ceded his temporal power to them. Alp Arslan, son of Chakir, defeated the Byzantines at Manzikert in 1071, and prepared the way for Ottoman conquests. His son Malik Shah

ruled over nearly the whole of modern Turkey in Asia and the territory to the east as far as the frontiers of China. On his death in 1092 the Empire broke up: Konia became the capital of the Sultanate of Asia Minor, and various Seljuk dynasties established themselves in Kirman, Irak, and Syria.

A new Turkish power was founded by the Khans of Khiva, who were known as the Khwarizm Shahs. They were originally vassals of the Seljuks, but made themselves independent and conquered Khorasan and Irak. They had to contend with another new arrival from the east, the Kara-Kitais, who were probably Turks also and who were pushed westward from China by the Kins. These new-comers conquered Kashgar, Khotan, Yarkand, and later Transoxiana, pushing the Ghuz tribes before them into Afghanistan and Persia.

In 1219 an extraordinary wave of invasion surged across Asia to Europe under Jenghiz Khan, the greatest personality ever produced in the sand deserts of Asia. After his death his conquests were divided, Transoxiana, Kashgar, Badakshan, Balkh, and Ghazni falling to the share of his second son Jagatai, after whom the population and the language of the countries about the Oxus came to be called. The latter never ceased to be Turkish in speech and customs, because the hordes of Jenghiz (though he himself and his family were Mongols) comprised a large Turkish element. The Jagatai Khanate lasted from 1234 to 1370. In 1321 it split into two consisting of Transoxiana and Dzungaria.

In the latter part of the fourteenth century a new wave of conquest was started by Timur (1333-1404), who had an extraordinary power of collecting and leading Central Asian hordes. He was a Turk by descent, and a native of the district of Samarkand. He conquered Dzungaria (1370), Persia and the Caucasus (1390), the Kipchaks on the Volga (1395), and Northern India (1398). He then invaded Syria and Asia Minor, where he defeated, though he did not annihilate, the Osmanlis at Angora in 1402. His successors ruled at Samarkand till 1499, their possessions including the northern parts of Afghanistan and Persia, as well as Transoxiana. Timur's Empire having fallen to pieces after his death, Mohammed I (1413-21) succeeded in recovering for the Osmanli Turks all the territories which his father had ruled over, and in recapturing the stronghold of Iconia (1416). His services in

the regeneration of the Turkish power can hardly be over-estimated. The Ottoman Navy is for the first time heard of in his reign. His successor, Murad II (1421-51), laid siege to Constantinople in 1422, but did not succeed in capturing the city. By a treaty signed in 1424 the Emperor Manuel II agreed to pay a heavy annual tribute and to surrender nearly all the towns on the Black Sea. The next few years were marked by attacks on Serbia and Hungary. In 1432 the Turks plundered in Hungary as far as Temesvar and Hermannstadt, while in Serbia they captured Semendria and invested Belgrade. But in 1442 the Hungarian hero, John Hunyadi, expelled the Turks from Semendria and, penetrating into the Balkans, inflicted severe losses on the Turkish army. A large Christian army was led against the Turks in 1444, but was completely defeated by Murad at Varna. In 1446 Corinth, Patras, and the northern part of the Morea were added to the Turkish conquests. Two years later Hunyadi, who had collected the largest Hungarian army yet raised against the Turks, was defeated at Kossovo with very heavy losses. In 1451 Murad died at Adrianople. He was succeeded by his son Mohammed II (1451-81), who at once set about the realization of the long-projected conquest of Constantinople. This was accomplished after a siege of fifty-three days, as the result of a tremendous assault with enormously superior numbers, on May 29, 1453. This great event marks the entry of the Turks as a European power, the history of which belongs exclusively to the Osmanli branch of the Turkish race.

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Owing to their two lines of migration westward, the whole Turkish race may be divided into the two groups of Northern and Southern Turks. But as this old division no longer clearly corresponds to the geographical distribution of to-day, it is more satisfactory to distinguish the following five groups based on the twofold division:

i. The *Siberian Turks*, comprising three branches: the eastern on the Lena consisting of the Yakuts; the central, chiefly north of the Altai and between the upper Yenisei and

the upper Irtysh ; and the western branch, between the rivers Tom and Tobol, both north and south of the Siberian railway.

ii. The *Central Asian Turks*, comprising the inhabitants of Chinese Turkestan, and of the steppes of southern Siberia and Russian Turkestan, a territory which extends from Lop-nor in the east to the Caspian in the west, from the Siberian Railway in the north to the frontiers of Afghanistan in the south, and is inhabited by the largest and most compact body of the Turkish race.

iii. The *Volga Turks*, or the Turkish peoples inhabiting the territory of the middle Volga in the Governments of Kazan, Ufa, Simbirsk, and Samara, and possessing an historical sense of racial unity as always having occupied the region between Tobolsk and the Volga.

iv. The *Black Sea Turks*, the descendants of the ancient Pechenegs, Uz, and Kumanians, who since the appearance of the Huns have lived to the east and north-east of the Black Sea and west of the Caspian, and of whom single fractions still live partly in this region, and have partly migrated down to the Caucasus or have been absorbed by other cognate tribes.

v. The *Western Turks*, consisting chiefly of the Azarbaijans in Persia and the Caucasus, and above all the Osmanlis in Asia Minor. They migrated with the armies of Seljuk and Jenghiz Khan, partly also of Timur, to Western Asia. By descent belonging to the Black Sea Turks, they must have come from the northern coast of the Caspian and the Aral. They originally belonged to the Turkish tribes known in the Middle Ages as Uz, Ghuz, or Kumanians.

Each of these five groups is subdivided into tribes. They are here treated, as far as possible, according to their geographical distribution from east to west.

i. *The Siberian Turks*

a. The *Yakuts* occupy nearly the whole valley of the lower Lena down to the coast, where they extend between the Khatanga and the Kolima (from about long. 100° E. to 160° E.). In the south they reach from the sources of the Vilyui river to the Sea of Okhotsk. In the beginning of the thirteenth century they lived near Lake Baikal, whence they were driven northward by the Mongol Buryats, who arrived in that region

about 1200, under pressure of the Mongol hordes moving westward under Jenghiz Khan. In their present territory they are surrounded by other Turanians: the Tungus in the west, south, and south-east, and the Samoyeds in the north-west. They are thus completely isolated from the other Siberian Turks. Their settlements are now steadily advancing southwards into the hunting domains of the Tungus, who give way before their superior civilization.

Name. The Yakuts call themselves Sakha or Sakhov. There is still located in the neighbourhood of Minusinsk a Turkish tribe called Sekha. This indicates where their original home was before the time when their migrations began. They owe their present name of Yakut to the Russians, who borrowed it from the Tungus form *Yeko* or *Yekot*. One branch, found between the Yenisei and the Khatanga in the Yeniseisk Government, is known by the name of Tolgan.

Number. The Yakut population in 1911 numbered 245,500.²⁹ They are a prolific race, averaging ten to a family, and are increasing in number. They absorb many Russian settlers, who adopt their language and customs.

Language. The Yakuts speak a purely Turkish language, which differs considerably from the western Turkish dialects, being more archaic than any of the others, as is regularly the case when a branch of any language is isolated.

Characteristics. Owing to admixture with the Tungus on the one hand and with Russians on the other, the Yakuts show more variations from the normal racial type than any other Turkish or any Mongol people. But their usual physical characteristics are the following. They are middle-sized, thick-set, robust, and muscular. They have small round heads, narrow foreheads, broad flat noses, narrow eyes, wiry black hair, and scanty beard. They usually cut their hair short, except the Shamans, who grow it long. When well nourished they are tall and active; but in the north they are below medium height, have a sickly complexion, and are indolent.

They show much more intelligence than the Tungus; they are, in fact, probably the most intelligent native Siberian tribe. They are good-tempered, orderly, and hospitable, laborious, enterprising, and skilful as artisans, traders, and agriculturists alike. They are sociable, being fond of noise, song, dance, and cards.

Manner of Life. The Yakuts are nomads, whose chief occupation is the rearing of horses and cattle. The breeding of the former was the more usual in earlier times, but that of the latter has become more prevalent at the present day. Lately they have begun to breed dogs, to which, however, they are harsh, considering them to be unclean and to have no soul. They also fish and hunt, and search for the ivory of the fossil mammoth, which they carve with some skill. The cultivation of cereals has also been introduced among them. They were familiar with smelting the iron ore of the Vilyui valley long before they came into contact with the Russians. The steel which they produce is flexible, but very good.

Dwellings. Their winter huts are made of logs, with small windows, in which plates of ice or pieces of skin are inserted instead of glass. They contain two compartments, one for cattle, the other divided into sections for the use of the family. In summer they leave these wooden dwellings and encamp in conical huts made of birch-bark.

Food. The Yakuts who frequent the rivers live chiefly on dried fish; the inland tribes like horseflesh, but they rarely kill oxen for food. They are specially fond of *kumiss*, the intoxicant made of fermented mare's milk. They also like drinking large bowls of melted butter. A delicacy among them is a jelly extracted from reindeer horns and flavoured with pine-bark. A favourite form of food are berries and cedar cones, which they collect in large quantities.

Social Institutions. The Yakuts are divided into clans, which again combine to form larger units. Formerly the clans were very extensive, when the Yakuts owned great herds of horses, but since the adoption of cattle-rearing both the herds and the clans have grown smaller.

As the clan consists of blood relations, marriage is exogamous. Among the Arctic Yakuts, however, endogamous marriage has been introduced through the influence of their eastern aboriginal neighbours, the Yukaghirs, who live on the lower Yana and Kolima. The marriage ceremony consists in an exchange of gifts, the bridegroom bringing the bridal price and the bride the dowry. When the Cossacks first came across the Yakuts early in the seventeenth century they found polygamy general among them, but this institution is little practised now.

Every Yakut is given two names, by one of which he is never called. The latter corresponds to the 'secret' name which in India has been given from the earliest times down to the present day, and which is never divulged, in order that witchcraft may not by its means be practised against its owner.

When an important Yakut dies his best horse is killed and eaten.

Religion. The Yakuts have been nominally Christians³⁰ since the beginning of the eighteenth century, but they have a very hazy idea of the teachings of Christianity. They retain much of their original nature-worship and Shamanism. Their native chief god is called *Tangra*; they also believe in many malevolent spirits. In 1877 a Yakut definitely stated at St. Petersburg that his people still secretly adhered to their belief in their national gods.

History. Of the origin and earliest migration of the Yakuts we have no direct historical evidence. Linguistic arguments, however, indicate that they are descended from the eastern Turks who, long before our era, lived north of the T'ien Shan, and are known under the collective name of Uigur, and whose language represents the oldest and least corrupted form of Turkish.³¹ It is known that at the beginning of the thirteenth century they inhabited the region of Lake Baikal, whence they were driven northward by the arrival of the Mongol Buryats. They made for the Lena, but had to move far north in order to escape from the raids of the Tungus. The tide has now turned, and the Tungus are giving way before the southward pressure of the Yakuts. The Cossacks first came in contact with the Yakuts in 1620, when they were engaged in internal dissensions. After becoming subject to Russian rule the Yakuts were taxed in furs; but now a poll-tax of four roubles is (or was) paid by them in coin.

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b. *The Central Siberian Turks. Habitat.* By this division

of the Turks are meant the tribes still occupying part of the region that was the cradle of their race. Their home lies chiefly in the southern portions of the Governments of Tomsk and of Yeniseisk. This territory extends from north to south between the Trans-Siberian Railway and the Altai mountains (lat. 55° – 50° N.) and from west to east between the southern tributaries of the Upper Ob and those of the Upper Yenisei (long. 83° – 98° E.). The population consists of a mixture of Turanian remnants—Samoyeds, Mongols, Turks—in which, however, the Turkish element and the Turkish language prevail. These Turks are more numerous in the Government of Tomsk, much less so in that of Yeniseisk. In the former Government 70 per cent. speak their own language only and 30 per cent. Russian as well, while in the latter 88 per cent. speak Turkish and 12 per cent. Russian also.

Name. There is no general name by which this group of Siberian Turkish tribes call themselves. But as the Altai range is their original home, in which some of them still live, and as the geographical area which they occupy extends northwards almost continuously from that range, we may conveniently call them Altaian Turks.

Number. The total number of the Altaian Turks is 158,303, of whom 109,807 live in the Government of Tomsk and 48,496 in that of Yeniseisk.

Characteristics. Where they adjoin the Mongol-Kalmuk territory, these Turks show a decidedly Mongolian type of features. The most characteristically Turkish tribe among them appear to be the Kumandins, who live to the north of the Altaians proper. These tribes, however, being on the whole an amalgam of different racial elements, present no uniform special Turkish characteristics, but many variations of the general Turanian type.

Though their mental faculties are little developed, these Turks are not without wits and common sense. Their apathy and their strong attachment to old Asiatic customs strike the observer who compares them with the Russians. In agricultural labour they are apt to be lazy, partly perhaps because they are more easily exhausted than the Russians.

Mode of Life. These tribes are nomads or half nomads according to the climatic and territorial circumstances of their existence: the mountains and valleys restrict the

migratory instinct, while the plateaus afford free scope to the cattle-breeding nomad; the forests on the other hand impose a new kind of life, that of the settled nomad who fishes or hunts. All these classes of the population practise agriculture, especially the cultivation of barley, to a certain extent. The iron industry is plied by a fraction of the Altaians and the Forest Tatars, and has progressed among them as far as the production of steel. Trade is also carried on from this region along a route which has been used for centuries, the main points of which are Petro-Paulovsk, Semipalatinsk, Tyumen, Kurgan, and Tobolsk. This trade extends from the extreme north to the Oxus region in the south-west, to the Kirghiz steppe, and even to Persia. The produce passing westwards are silk and cotton goods, raw wool, tea, dried grapes and plums, horses, sheep, felt, skins, and other commodities. The stock-breeding part of the population pay special attention to their horses; for, being born riders, they, like Turks in general, bestow the utmost care on these animals, and feel more at home on their backs than anywhere else. Those who have become settled live in villages during the winter, but always endeavour if possible to move into the open during the summer. Village groups ranging from 200 to 3,000 inhabitants are administered by elders, who, being survivals of old patriarchal rule, are greatly respected.

Dwellings. The tent is not in such general use among the Siberian Turks as among the Kirghiz. Commoner are different kinds of dwellings ranging from the hut constructed of pine branches to the square strongly-built winter house, which is furnished with a stove, and beside which there is a cattle-yard and a storehouse. The cattle-breeding nomad in summer erects a hut formed of several poles held together by two rings and covered with felt, while in winter he lives in a wooden *gurma* with a conical roof. The forest nomad inhabits a square hut made of boards. The wooden huts are poor and dirty, having in the middle a hearth which gives out little heat but much smoke.

Food. The food of these tribes is much the same as that of the Kazan Turks. The favourite drink among them is tea, especially brick tea, which they obtain from China. It is boiled with salt as among the Mongols and Kirghiz. They are also fond of *airan* or buttermilk. *Kumiss* is not in such

general use as among the Kirghiz. From this they make a kind of brandy, which they indulge in copiously, not considering it to be forbidden by law, because it was not known at the time of Mohammed.

Dress. In the south the fashions of China in dress, in the north those of Russia, and in the neighbourhood of Tomsk those of Bokhara prevail. The costume worn by the Kumandin tribe is probably the oldest. The footgear of these tribes in general resembles that of the Mongols, being in summer made of horse-hide, in winter of the skin of the wild goat.

Family Customs. Marriages are arranged by the father of the bridegroom at a time when the future husband and wife are still infants. The *kalim*, or price paid for the bride, a generation ago varied from 5 to 15 roubles among the poorer classes. The betrothal is generally completed by the father of the bride giving some presents to the parents and nearest relations of the bridegroom. The wedding, which is usually celebrated in summer, takes place after the young couple have entered their seventeenth year.

Funeral Rites. Many heathen features are retained in the funeral rites of even those Siberian Turks who have adopted Christianity. Men are buried in their rain-coats, women in their silk cloaks, while children are wrapped in birch-bark. The corpse is interred lying on its back, with face directed towards the east. Food and drink are placed in the grave. Sometimes the favourite horse of the deceased man is sacrificed, its flesh being consumed at the funeral feast and its skull being fixed to a pole, which is set up over the place of interment. Light is set to a funeral pyre, around which dancing and carousing go on for days together.

Religion. In the matter of religion the Altaian Turks may be divided into three groups: Christians, Mohammedans, and Shamanists.

Christianity was introduced among them after 1584, when this region was incorporated in the Russian Empire. It is chiefly found where the Russian colonists are numerous, where pressure is exercised by the Russian administration, and where the Turks have adopted the Russian language; but their Christianity consists chiefly in the superficial practice of its ceremonies, for they are Shamanists at heart. It is somewhat remarkable that Christianity seems hardly ever

to take root among Turkish peoples, while Mohammedanism appears to be peculiarly adapted to their religious needs.

Islam came into contact with the Siberian Turks at a much earlier period. Its first emissaries probably reached the region of the Tobol, the Ishim and the Irtysh, at the time of the Old Bulgarian Empire, by the trade route which in the eleventh and twelfth centuries already extended from the Volga into Eastern Asia. This earliest Moslem influence came to the Siberian Turks hand in hand with trade. But it was not till the religion of the Arabian prophet had assumed a Turkish guise that Islam was able to contend successfully with Shamanism, the old national religion. It then established itself here, and not only survives, but even flourishes under the Christian rule of Russia, whose missionary efforts against it seem to be of but slight avail. The Arabic-Persian civilization of Islam has here effaced all but a small remnant of ancient Turkish sagas and customs, which survive only among the lowest orders of the population.

The third religion found in this part of the Turkish world is the old national faith, Shamanism. The tribes among whom it chiefly survives are the Teleuts, the Shors, and the Black Forest Tatars. It has maintained itself here because the influence of the Chinese Buddhist culture from the south-east and of Islam from the south and west could not easily reach them in this region. Had the Siberian Turkish dynasty not been destroyed by the Russians at the close of the sixteenth century, Mohammedanism would probably be the religion of the whole of this territory. Eventually Shamanism is likely to disappear gradually before Islam or Buddhism rather than Christianity. One of the most primitive traits surviving among these Shamanists is that *Tengere Khan*, 'Lord Heaven', figures as the supreme deity. There are also mountain, forest, river, and house spirits that are propitiated by sacrifices and offerings. The sacrifices consist chiefly of horses, cattle, sheep, the flesh of which is roasted or boiled and hastily consumed by the worshippers, while the skins of the victims are hung on long poles to appease the evil spirits. Prepared food and drink are also offered, including wine and brandy, but never water. The hunter offers a wild goat made of dough, which he places on the altar. The services of the Shaman, or *Kam* as he is called, with his drum are constantly called in. He

acts as a magician, exorcist, rainmaker, interpreter of dreams, and in other similar capacities. With these survivals of old Turkish religion there is a strange mixture of Buddhist influences. Thus, in a cosmogonic myth appear two personages called *Mai-tere* and *Mandy-shireh*, who are merely transformations of the Buddhist Bodhisattvas Maitreya and Mañjuśrī. Iranian elements may also be traced in this type of myth.

Language. The language of the Siberian Turks has a marked resemblance to the Uigur of the *Kudatku Bilik* (1070), much in the same way as the spoken dialects of Bokhara, Samarkand, and Khiva are related to the literary Jagatai. In prehistoric times it must thus have been identical with the Uigur language, from which the Kazak first separated, and much later the Kara-Kirghiz. Of the various Altaian dialects, that of the Cherneys and of the Shors are nearest to this old Turkish tongue.

Literature. Radloff has collected specimens of the popular literature of the tribes of South Siberia, consisting of the fairy tales, songs, and legends of the Altaian Turks. These represent genuine Turkish modes of thought in a manner not to be found even among quite primitive Turkish peoples whose poetry has been strongly influenced by Islam.

History. Nothing certain is known about the Siberian Turks till the sixteenth century, when they were under the rule of a prince named Yadikar, a contemporary of Ivan the Terrible (1530-84), who subdued Kazan in 1552, Astrakhan in 1554, and the Bashkirs in 1555. In the latter year an ambassador of Yadikar appeared at the court of Moscow bringing a tribute of 700 sable skins. The last prince of the Siberian line was attacked by the Cossack adventurer Yermak with a force of 2,000 horsemen, and with the aid of fire-arms—a form of weapon at that time entirely unknown to the Siberian Turks—defeated in 1579. Finally, after varying warfare, the prince was irretrievably vanquished in 1598, his empire being destroyed, and his dominions incorporated in Russia. Thus, with the tragic end of their last prince, the Siberian Turks lost their independence, suffering the same fate as their kinsmen on the Volga and in the Crimea. The hordes of the Ostyaks and of the then numerous Voguls—both tribes of another branch of the Turanian family—helped the Russians to consolidate their new conquests in Siberia. When,

in the middle of the eighteenth century, the Chinese destroyed the Dzungarian Empire, new Turkish and West Mongol elements from the northern slopes of the Sayan mountains submitted to Russian rule. Since then Russia has had in its hands the destinies of all the Siberian Turks. The Yakuts had been subjected in the seventeenth century. Islam enables the Moslem Siberian Turks to resist the encroachments of Russian civilization, because it protects them from absorption and, by supplying them with an ordered system of social life, improves their economic condition. It has had a similar effect on the Turks of the Volga and the Crimea in the face of zealous efforts at Russification. On the other hand, the Christian and Shamanist Turks are being rapidly denationalized and are on the way to complete absorption or destruction. The Russians have been steadily encroaching on the territory of the nomads, ousting them from mountain, valley, and forest. The simple nomad and forest-dweller is also unscrupulously exploited by being paid ridiculously low prices for his produce and being exorbitantly over-charged for Russian manufactures. He is, moreover, over-reached by scandalously high usury, while his health is ruined by the deadly poison of brandy. Thus the time seems near at hand when a large proportion of the Turkish Altaians, completely impoverished and decimated by disease, will cease to exist except in name, destroyed by the melancholy fate which has overtaken so many primitive races as a result of contact with a higher civilization.

Tribes. About ten main tribes may be distinguished:

1. The *Altaians*, who live at the northern end of the Altaian range in the valleys of the Katun and of the Chulishman. They call themselves *Altai Kishi* or 'Altai Men', while the Russians call them Altaian Kalmuks, a term which is misleading because, though their type is closely akin to that of the Mongols, they are Turks. They are divided into twenty-four clans, which, though territorially a good deal mixed up, have a strong feeling of community of origin. Members of the same clan consequently do not intermarry. Every clan has its own tutelary spirit and certain peculiar prayer formulas.

Their facial type is uniform and Mongolian. The face is broad and flat, the eyes small and oblique, the cheek-bones prominent, the nose depressed and much too small for the

face, the mouth large with thick lips, the beard scanty, the complexion dark; the eyebrows are deep black as well as the hair, which is hard and bristly. The men mostly shave their heads, leaving on the top only a small round patch, which they plait into a thin pigtail. The figure is thick-set, spare, and muscular. The legs are mostly crooked, doubtless as a result of early and constant riding. Their gait is waddling. The Altaians differ from the Mongols in having smaller figures and flatter faces.

The Altaians have many good qualities. They are honest and straightforward, peaceful and unobtrusive; and they show great respect to age as well as obedience to superior authority. In spite of their docility, they value freedom above everything. They hate service to such a degree that they would sooner starve than endure it, and have no stronger term of abuse than 'servant'. They are also extraordinarily hospitable. They are extremely attached to their families, clans, and homeland. Though they regard women as an inferior race, they never beat their wives, and generally treat them kindly. They are imaginative, but credulous and superstitious. Their chief vices are indolence, dirtiness, and intemperance. Spending the greater part of their lives in doing nothing, they often suffer great hardships in consequence of their laziness. Nevertheless they are able, when necessary, to endure long spells of strenuous effort and privation. The dirtiness of the Altaian is still more striking. He is so thoroughly water-shy that his body is covered with a complete crust of dirt. Men and women wear their under-garments till they rot off their bodies. These people even consider dirt beneficial and cleanliness dangerous. They consume their weak brandy, which they distil from *kumiss* (fermented mare's milk) and *airan* (buttermilk) in great quantities. Consequently almost half the population is continuously drunk during the milk-producing summer months. Even women and children drink this brandy, but in great moderation. This intemperance is not only very harmful to their health, but is economically very injurious to the population, because it prevents their making provision for the winter. The Altaians are also passionately fond of tobacco, which is partly cultivated by themselves, partly obtained from the Russians. Men, women, and children can hardly pass an hour without smoking.

The Altaians are mostly nomadic. As the splendid valleys of the Altai supply rich pasture lands, they devote themselves to cattle-breeding as their chief pursuit. Not only is there excellent grass for horses, cattle, sheep, and goats, but the whole of the Altai is free from all insects injurious to cattle, while in winter its mountain meadows are free from snow. The life here is, however, not truly nomadic. The pasturage being so abundant, even large herds move over a very small territory, while poor people can remain on the same spot throughout the year. It almost looks as if their own extremely dirty habits were the chief cause that forces them to change their abodes; for they never clean their dwellings, close beside which their herds spend the nights. Though not a people of hunters, they nearly all engage in hunting to some extent, being for the most part excellent shots. In fact, the whole male population during the winter shoot various kinds of deer and wild sheep, ducks, and geese for the sake of their flesh; but the proper object of their pursuit are the small animals, such as the common and the black fox, the sable, the squirrel, and others whose fur is valuable and much sought after by merchants. They employ only fire-arms, the use of bows and arrows having died out since the beginning of the nineteenth century. There are only the beginnings of an artisan class, comprising chiefly workers in wood and tanners. More advanced are the smiths, who though few in number know the art of making steel and are very skilful. Hence Altaian knives are preferred to those made by Russians.

The dwellings of the Altaians are mostly felt *yurtas*, those covered with bark being rare. Of the former there are two kinds. The first, which is conical in shape, is formed of ten to fourteen poles covered with felt cloths, and tied down with hair ropes. When migration takes place the poles are left behind, only the felt covers being transported. The second kind has a sloping roof and vertical walls, the frame being either fixed or transportable. The interior arrangement of these *yurtas* is always the same, there being in the middle a kettle and hearth, on which a fire burns all day.

The Altaians chiefly eat mutton, but also to some extent horseflesh. Though they often have large herds of cattle, they do not use them as food. Accustomed from youth to the

greatest irregularity in feeding, they can fast for days, but when they have food they eat to excess.

Young men and girls are allowed to speak to one another freely, and women never conceal their faces. In arranging a marriage, the bridegroom pays the bride's father the *kalim* in money or cattle. The bridegroom's father builds his son a new *yurta* and hands over to him a part of his property when the wedding has taken place. The dead are generally buried in hidden spots among the mountains. The body is placed in the grave fully dressed, and is provided with a small sack containing food for the journey.

The language of the Altaians is a pure Turkish dialect of a very archaic type. It indicates that the Altaians have lived for centuries separated by Mongols from the bulk of the Turkish tribes of the south. Though it has many Mongol loan words, it is by no means a mixed language.

The Altaians are Shamanists by religion. In their *yurtas* are to be seen, suspended from the poles of the roof, images of their gods who are called *kudai*. These, being made by Shamans or other experts, are hung up to bring luck and to protect against the evil powers of darkness.

No statistics are available for the present numbers of this or of the following tribes, because *Asiatic Russia* supplies, according to the local census of 1911, the totals of the Siberian Turks in each Government (Tomsk, Yeniseisk, &c.) only. The estimate given by Vambéry in 1885 amounts to between 14,000 and 15,000.

2. The *Mountain or Black Forest Tatars*, the Uryanchai of the Mongols and the Chernevs of the Russians, call themselves *Tuba Kishi*³² (Tuba men). They live in the mountains thickly wooded with cedar in the region of the river Biya, between the Katun and Lake Teletskoe. They are the most northerly of the Turks inhabiting the spurs of the Altai, acknowledged as the immemorial inhabitants of these localities. They consist of an aggregate of five sub-tribes, which are again divided into clans. They are semi-nomads, partly occupied with cattle-breeding, trade, and agriculture. They keep more horses than cows. They till the soil with the hoe, and sow wheat as well as barley. They are, however, for the most part hunters, as well as collectors of cedar nuts and roots.³³ According to Radloff³⁴ they numbered about 3,500 in 1869. Their language

is a Turkish dialect closely allied to that of the Altaians. In religion they are for the most part Shamanists. They believe in a seven-headed demon who swallows the moon,³⁵ but is forced by the god Ülğön to restore it.³⁶ These Tatars, as well as the Altaians, divide the year into thirteen lunar months. They attribute the discovery of fire, from iron and stone, to the three daughters of Ülğön.

The greatest poverty prevails among the Black Forest Tatars. This is due to their own laziness and improvidence, and to the consequent advantage which is taken of them by the Russian population, and against which they cannot be protected. They might otherwise be very prosperous by making hay in summer, by fully utilizing the large quantities of game in the forests, by keeping bees and profiting by the wild honey in which their country abounds, and by reaping a rich harvest of cedar nuts (in the immense tract of cedar forest extending from the Tom to Lake Teletskoe), which are a dainty not only to the Russian Siberians, but also to the whole of Northern Russia.

3. The *Kumandins* or *Kumandi Kishi* live partly on both banks of the Biya from the mouth of the Lebed downwards, and partly on the river Ishi and other tributaries of the Katun. They are settled, living in small villages of from five to ten houses. They are divided into Upper Kumandins with two clans and Lower Kumandins with four. They are almost exclusively agriculturists, who till the soil with the hoe. They chiefly sow barley and rye, much less wheat. They manufacture their own linen, and from the wool of their sheep they produce a coarse cloth which they dye. They also engage in fishing, while their hunting is limited to small animals, chiefly squirrels, the skins of which they sell to the Russians. Their clothing is very simple, that of the men being almost the same as that of the Russian peasants. Their houses are built of wood, and the dwelling-room is provided with a stove. In religion they are Shamanists, who keep images of the gods in their houses. As they are very tenacious of their old traditions, Christianity has hardly made any headway among them. In 1869 their numbers were 2,177.

4. The *Lebed Tatars* live along the Lebed, an eastern tributary of the Biya. Their language is the same as that of the Kumandins, coming midway between the dialect of the Shors

and the Altaians. Though they engage in agriculture to some extent, they are chiefly devoted to the chase. They hunt the sable chiefly near the sources of the Abakan. In summer they shoot deer, and in winter squirrels, on the Lebed. Their main exports are furs, which they sell to the merchants of Biisk and Kuznetsk. In physique they closely resemble the Shors. By religion they are Shamanists, retaining much of their primitive Turkish mythology. The primaeval Father, the Creator of all, is called *Kudai Bai Ülgön*.

5. The *Shors* inhabit the forest region which extends northwards from Lake Teletskoe, living on the Kondema, the Mrass, and the Tom. They are called Shor by the Altaians; but they have no general name of their own, calling their various divisions after the rivers on the banks of which they live, as Tom people, Mrass people, or Kondema people. They are divided into many clans. Though officially called nomads, they are for the most part settled. They all live in villages, a custom which they seem to have adopted spontaneously. In this they differ from other Altaian Turkish tribes, which have only given up their nomadism owing to the pressure of the Russians. There are two kinds of Shors. The lesser section, settled on the lower Mrass and the Tom, are agriculturists who live in villages like those of the Russians, and are to a great extent Russified in language, religion, and customs. The other division are the Black Forest Shors, whose chief occupation is hunting and fishing. They also live on cedar nuts and wild honey collected in the forests. They have become greatly impoverished. According to Vambéry they numbered 10,688 in 1869. Though nominally Christians, they know hardly anything of Christian doctrine and are in reality still inclined to Shamanism. One of their marriage customs consists in carrying off the bride by stealth.

6. The *Teleuts* were formerly a considerable and warlike Turkish people, who have migrated from the mountains to the low country. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries they were greatly mixed with their northern, western, and southern neighbours. The small remnant now called Teleuts live chiefly in the district north of Kuznetsk. These are devoted Shamanists, and offered a stubborn resistance to Russian subjugation. Another section of them lives south of Biisk on the lower Katun. These are Christians. A third branch of them

are to be found near the town of Tomsk. In the seventeenth century they mixed with the neighbouring Turkish tribes and became Mohammedans. There are two divisions of the Teleuts, called Telenget and Ach Keshtim, both of which are subdivided into many clans. They call themselves *Telenget Kishi* (Telenget men), while the Russians name them 'White Kalmuks'. They are mostly settled in villages, and practise agriculture. To a considerable extent they have been Russianized. The language of the Teleuts is the same as that of the Altaians, and the poetry of both is of quite similar character. The latter consists largely of songs composed in four-lined stanzas. One of them, the song of *Ak Köböök*, is prevalent among all northern Turks. The musical instrument of the Teleuts (as of the Altaians) is a kind of rough wooden guitar. The number of the Teleuts in 1885 was, according to Vambery, 5,800.

Three Turkish tribes of mixed origin live in the Abakan valley, having occupied this territory in the seventeenth century after the Kazak-Kirghiz had retired from the Abakan and Yenisei steppes. These are the following:

7. The *Sagais*, who inhabit the left bank of the Abakan river to the south-west of Minusinsk. They are settled agriculturists, who no longer use a hoe for tilling the soil, but a very primitive plough. They cultivate rye, wheat, and barley. They all keep a small number of cows, sheep, and horses. Formerly they were Shamanists, but now, at least nominally, belong to the Greek Orthodox Church. They still use the services of Shamans. They have been Russianized to a considerable extent, and have lost much of their national characteristics. In 1864 they numbered 11,720.

8. The *Kachins* live on the east side of the Abakan. They are semi-nomadic, forming a transition to the stage of settled peasants such as their western neighbours the Sagais. They are for the most part cattle-breeders, often owning considerable herds. They are much wealthier than the Sagais. They carry on agriculture only to a small extent. What distinguishes these and other Abakan Turks is the rich development among them of epic poetry, fairy tales, and heroic sagas in verse. The language of both these two neighbouring tribes is very similar. It was formerly greatly influenced by those of the Kirghiz and Teleuts.

9. The *Kyzyls*, who belong to the district of Achinsk and inhabit the Yüs steppe, are neighbours of the Kachins. They have long lived in this region, being mentioned as allies of the Kirghiz in 1635. Various elements, such as Kirghiz, Teleuts, and probably many Yenisei Ostyaks, have been absorbed by this tribe. It consists of ten clans. Their language is nearest that of the Kachins. About seventy years ago their number is stated by Radloff to have been 4,362.

10. The *Tatars of the Chulim*, a tributary of the Ob, are found to the north-west of the Yüs steppe in the district of Achinsk, isolated in the midst of a dense Russian population. They live for the most part like Russian peasants, and have by this time given up their native speech. Thirty-five years ago Radloff estimated that not more than 500 of them still spoke their Turkish dialect. They are thus becoming fused with the Russians. They are in physique more like Mongols than Turks. Their language, too, though Turkish, contained many Mongol and Yakut words. It indicated that the majority of them must have been immigrant Baraba and Irtish Tatars as well as Teleuts. They consist, or formerly consisted, of three clans.

c. The *West Siberian Turks*. The western section of the Turks of Siberia live in the Government of Tobolsk, inhabiting the Baraba steppe between the Ob and the Irtish, as well as the valleys of the Irtish and the Tobol above Tobolsk. The total number of the Turks in the Government of Tobolsk is 73,000, according to the local census of 1911 as given in *Asiatic Russia*. Their habitat is bounded in the south by the Trans-Siberian railway.

1. The *Baraba Tatars*, who are divided into several clans, have been driven more and more, before the encroachment of the Russian settlers, out of the fertile portions of the steppe into the marshes and forests. They occupy for the most part the region between the Om and the Tara, eastern tributaries of the Irtish, where they live in separate villages or along with Russians. They are agriculturists. Till the beginning of the nineteenth century they were for the most part heathen, but are now all Mohammedans. Formerly they offered a strenuous resistance to Russian conquest, and later suffered much from Kazak and Kalmuk raids.

2. The *Tara Tatars*, who call themselves *Tarlyk*, live chiefly

on the banks of the Irtysh, from the mouth of the Tara down to the district of Tobolsk, and not far from the Irtysh, on its small tributaries and on the lakes to the south of it. They are divided into four tribes, which Siberian history shows to have been in this same region in the seventeenth century. Owing to their isolation they have preserved their racial purity better than the two following groups; but there are among them a considerable number of immigrants, Sarts and Bokharans, who form an administrative district of their own.

3. The bulk of the *Tobol Tatars* live on the Irtysh from the district of Tara down to the town of Tobolsk, and on the Tobol from the latter place up to the district of Tyumen. There are also a few north of Tobolsk. The population on these rivers mostly consists of old Turkish inhabitants; but those living farther west and in the region of Tobolsk have been considerably mixed with Sarts, Bokharans, and even Volga Turks. The distinction of clans has, however, not been altogether effaced among them.

4. The *Tyumen Tatars* live almost entirely in the districts of Tyumen and Yalutovsk, about two-thirds of them around the former town, the rest to the east and the west of Tobolsk. The number of those living to the north and south of these districts is very small. This population consists of a mixture of old inhabitants of the Irtysh with Bokharans and Volga Turks.

The total number of the Siberian Turks in 1911 (*Asiatic Russia*) was 537,015, made up as follows:

1. Yakuts	246,405
2. Turks of Central, West Siberia, and the Far East Country	245,586
3. Kirghiz in Siberia	37,982
4. Karagasses	449
5. Other Turks (unclassified)	6,593
Total	<u>537,015</u>

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ii a. *East Central Asian Turks*

Habitat. The habitat of the south-eastern portion of the Central Asian Turks is East Turkestan, which, lying between the T'ien Shan range on the north and the Kuen-lun range

on the south, stretches from the Pamirs in the west to the Desert of Gobi and the Chinese province of Kansu in the east (long. 98° E.). The centre of this territory is taken up by the Desert of Takla-makan, around which lies the habitable land. Geographically this area forms Chinese Turkestan, but administratively the Chinese province extends farther north across the T'ien Shan, and includes the valley of Ili or Kulja, besides the district of Dzungaria. The extreme eastern limit of the Turkish population is the town called by the Turks Kumul, but by the Chinese Hami, which forms the Chinese linguistic frontier. The great bulk of the inhabitants are of Turkish stock. The agricultural portion, which shows a strong Aryan admixture, inhabits the oases. Those who live in the seven large towns are more distinctly Turkish, consisting of Sarts and Uzbeks. On the eastern and southern slopes of the T'ien Shan and the northern slopes of the Karakoram range, various Turkish tribes, collectively called Kirghiz (strictly speaking Kara-Kirghiz), still lead a nomad life. Chinese Turkestan is the country in which the Turks have from the earliest times been in contact on the east with their nearest kinsmen, the Mongols; and though it was conquered by the Chinese (who had already exercised an intermittent sovereignty over East Turkestan from about 50 B.C. for eight centuries) in the middle of the eighteenth century, the majority of the population is still Turkish.

Name. A common political name is not used in the country itself, because the man of East Turkestan only calls himself by the district in which he lives. The vague terms 'Kashgarlik', 'Kashgarian', and 'six-city man'³⁷ are sometimes used in a general sense. The Turkish inhabitants still call their country Mogulistan,³⁸ 'Land of the Mongols', a name which occurs as early as the fourteenth century for the territory comprising Dzungaria and the greater part of East and West Turkestan.³⁹ The mass of the people also speak of themselves as Sarts. The considerable Turkish population of Kumul (Hami) and the surrounding villages, who constitute a speech island among Mongolian tribes at the eastern end of the T'ien Shan, call themselves *Yerlik*, 'country people' or 'natives'; by the Mongols they are, like the Sarts of Central Asia, termed *Khotan*, 'townsmen' or 'settlers'; and by the Kirghiz they are spoken of as Sarts.

Number. The total Turkish population of East Turkestan probably amounts to over 1,000,000, which was the estimate of Vambéry in 1885. The non-Turkish elements, which comprise Tajiks, Hindus, Afghans, Mongols, Chinese, Dungans (Chinese converted to Islam in past centuries), are (including the inhabitants of Dzungaria and Kulja) in all likelihood much less numerous. But no exact figures are available. The total population (including all races) is estimated by Forsyth ⁴⁰ in 1873 at 1,015,000; by Kuropatkin at 1,200,000; by Pyevtsov at 2,000,000; by Sven Hedin at between 1,800,000 and 2,000,000; by Hartmann ⁴¹ at 1,500,000. The population of Dzungaria is estimated at 600,000, and that of Kulja at 150,000.

Language. The Turkish idiom universally spoken in Chinese Turkestan is Jagatai Turkish, the Uzbek dialect of Central Asia, and is essentially identical with the language of the Sarts in Ferghana. Hence the inhabitants of East Turkestan and of Transoxiana can easily understand each other, and the literary language of both regions may be said to be almost identical. Though the former never apply the term Turk to themselves, they call their language Turkī. The relationship of Turkī to Uzbek is not that of identity, but that of a sister dialect; for its grammar and vocabulary point to its having had a separate origin and an independent development. Various traces connect it with the old Uigur dialect which is represented by the *Kudatku Bilik* (finished in A.D. 1070), and which in the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries underwent a considerable modification in consequence of the application to it of the Arabic script as a result of the adoption of Islam.

Religion. Shamanism was doubtless the original religion of East Turkestan. But we know that Buddhism prevailed there from the second century onwards till the end of the tenth century, and that Zoroastrianism and Nestorian Christianity were introduced into the country early in the seventh century. But Mohammedanism is now the religion of Chinese Turkestan generally. It supplanted Buddhism during the period of Uigur rule, becoming the prevailing religion of the country in the latter half of the tenth century after the conversion of Satok Boghra Khan. Among the Kirghiz of the mountains its hold is quite superficial, nor does it go very deep among the industrial and mercantile classes. Its influence is greatest among the peasantry, who also supply the largest contingent

of pilgrims to Arabia. Introduced from Transoxiana, Islam has always, both before and after the Mongol irruption, been reinforced from that region, but the Moslem fanaticism of the west has never prevailed here, as it has among Tajiks, Uzbeks, and Afghans.

Racial Affinity and Type. The Turks of East Turkestan are the descendants of the ancient Uigurs, who were the most eastern branch of the Turks remaining behind when the first westward movement was made.

Among the Turkish inhabitants of the present day the Mongol type, both in face and build, is more pronounced in the north of Turkestan than in the west and south. The Turk of Aksu, Kucha, and Turfan is characterized by a broad head and nose, small eyes, scanty beard, medium height, and strong build. But the people of Yarkand, Khotan, and to a less extend those of Kashgar, show unmistakable traces of Aryan admixture.⁴² It may be said of the inhabitants of the 'six cities' ⁴³ generally that they differ from other Central Asiatic Turks by their more distinctively Mongolian type.

Characteristics. The people of East Turkestan have some traces of the genuine Turkish national character. They show more simplicity of manners than their western kinsmen. Excepting the inhabitants of Kashgar, Yarkand, and Khotan (who have been prejudicially influenced by Tajiks from Khokand and Kashmir), they are less addicted to lying and deceit than other inhabitants of Central Asia, though they have been subjected for three centuries to the demoralizing effect of Dzungarian and Chinese oppression. This despotic rule has, however, resulted in depriving this people of all courage, for probably no other Central Asians are so cowardly. A lax state of sexual morality has been observed to prevail among the people of East Turkestan. There is also a good deal of indulgence in intoxicating liquor. The smoking of *nish*, a narcotic prepared from a species of hemp, prevails in all classes of the population, and produces greater mental and physical injury even than opium. The inhabitants of every part of the country are devoted to music and singing. Mentally these people are unintelligent and lethargic; but they are honest and hospitable, kind in family relations, and submissive to superiors. The peasantry are also among the most industrious agriculturists of the Turkish race, surpassing th

Uzbeks, Azarbaijans, Osmanlis, Nogaïans, Bashkirs, Kazanians, both in this and in various domestic industries.

Dwellings. In keeping with the general agricultural character of the people, their dwellings are more like those of the Afghans, Persians, and Osmanlis than those of the Uzbeks, who prefer a felt tent in the midst of an enclosure. They are houses built of stone, one-storied, and most primitive in type, with windows looking on the inner court-yard, and a bare, irregularly built, rough, exterior wall. Both the inside and the outside present a poverty-stricken appearance. With less irrational methods of cultivation, and above all with a less oppressive government, the land north and south of the Takla-makan, and to the north of the T'ien Shan, might be transformed into a smiling and prosperous country. The not inconsiderable part of the Turkish inhabitants who are nomads, and who change their places of abode according to the season, though to no great distance, live in felt-covered tents. Even when they cease to wander, they still preserve their preference for the *yurta*, like the Uzbeks.

Dress. In dress the people of East Turkestan differ from their western co-religionists only in the colour and the material of their garments. The dark-blue linen generally used for the upper garment is due to Chinese influence. The head-gear consists of a round cap made of wool or sheepskin; only the artisans and the traders wear a many-coloured turban, while the white muslin turban is distinctive of Mollahs and Hajis. The Turks of the north-east differ from the rest in wearing a mitre-like cap of red and green cloth with a tassel hanging down behind. The dress of women is much the same as that of men, except that they wear a different kind of high cap. They also use ear-rings and nose-rings as ornaments. They follow the same fashion as other Turks in dressing their hair, girls wearing a single long plait intertwined with ribbons hanging down the back, while women have several small ones.

Food. In the matter of food the Turks here differ from their western kinsmen in eating much more meat and fish, as well as in consuming the flesh of animals forbidden by the Kuran. In cooking they follow Chinese rather than Turkish usage.

Marriages. Otherwise the Turks of this country conform on the whole to the ethical standard prescribed by the system

of Islam. Marriages are arranged by the parents, as in other Turkish countries, or are the result of personal affection, the seclusion of women not being so rigorously observed as elsewhere. The bridal price (*kalim*), which is not of such importance here as among nomad Turks, consists mostly of articles of dress or ornaments. At the wedding ceremony the marital union is ratified by a piece of bread being dipped into a bowl of salted water and then presented to the young couple. Before entering the house of her husband the bride is placed on a carpet and carried round a fire burning in the open air. This is a very old custom, which is observed by the Uzbeks also.

Birth Ceremonies. Immediately after birth a piece of sugar is placed in the mouth of the infant, which is not taken away from its mother till the eighth day. On the fortieth day, after the priest has whispered the creed in its ear, it receives its name. The tenderness for children is very marked among this people.

Position of Women. What is specially striking in the family-life of this country is the much greater legal and social independence enjoyed by women than among other Moslem Turks. This is primarily due to the extraordinary facilities for divorce prevailing in all parts of East Turkestan. It may also in some degree be connected with the striking preponderance of women over men in the population. As it is so much easier here for women to maintain an independent social position, they are often found at the head of commercial undertakings. In the frequent political upheavals from which the country has suffered, there are said to have been women who even commanded divisions of armies.

Chinese Social Influence. In the rules regulating social intercourse and in their games the Turks of East Turkestan have borrowed many details from their Chinese neighbours. The use of white as the colour of mourning is also due to Chinese influence.

Intellectual Life. East Turkestan produced the oldest and most important literary monument of the Turkish race, the *Kudatku Bilik*,⁴⁴ a poem composed by Yusuf Khass Hajil at Kashgar (1065-70). But it has long been forgotten in the land of its origin, where its very name is perfectly unknown. Yet its language differs less from that which is regarded as literarily correct at the present day than does the mediaeval

(thirteenth century) German of the *Nibelungenlied* from the classical language of modern Germany. It might have been expected that in a predominantly settled population a literary tradition would have survived. But all literary activity and even interest have long been as good as non-existent. Nor is any kind of higher education to be found. Nothing beyond the lowest grade of mechanical scholastic teaching is obtainable even in Kashgar and Yarkand. For all education is here still in the hands of ignorant Mollahs, as it was centuries ago. The near future holds out no prospect of the very low intellectual level of the Turkish population being raised, for Kashgaria can only look to itself in the matter of schools. The Chinese Government has never done anything; nor has the activity of foreign missionaries hitherto produced any appreciable result. Not much can be expected from Turkey, the numerous political agents of which, sent from Constantinople, have only been uneducated intriguers. The great development of Islam in Russian Turkestan may perhaps gradually lead to the improvement of purely Mohammedan learning in East Turkestan; but that the indirect influence of the Volga Turks will soon make itself felt in the promotion of secular education in the schools of the country does not seem likely. About ten years ago some 2,000 students in winter and 700 in summer availed themselves of what teaching the schools in Kashgar provided; but of these not more than 50 per cent. were genuine learners. Yarkand,⁴⁵ which till the conquest of East Turkestan by the Chinese was the capital of the country and at the same time its chief seat of learning, now comes a long way behind Kashgar in the number of its students; for in 1895 there were only 200 attending its schools. Neither in Yarkand nor in Kashgar do there seem to be any public libraries.

Administration. The Chinese administration causes much discontent among the population, because in practice it is oppressive and very detrimental to the economic prosperity of the country. The whole weight of taxation falls on the agricultural and settled population. All the taxes and dues, if expressed in money, would not amount to more than two roubles a head. This sum in itself is not high; but the burden is so greatly increased by the extortions of officials that it virtually reaches 30 to 40 per cent. of the annual produce of

the soil. The corruption among the officials, high and low, is general. The Chinese rulers, who are ignorant of the language of the natives, treat them with the greatest contempt, and deal with them only through the medium of Beys and interpreters. The latter, as chief exploiters of the people, do not show much enthusiasm about bringing their complaints to the ears of the higher authorities.

The nomadic population is much better off, for the Mongols of Karashar and the Kirghiz of Kashgar, Aksu, Sarikol, and Raskem are in the first place governed by their own chiefs. The Kirghiz are, moreover, exempted from imperial taxation, besides enjoying various special privileges. The Chinese Government has followed this policy for the distinct purpose of conciliating this border population, so as to have their support against foes from without. It has not, however, been successful. The Kirghiz regard this treatment as a sign not of magnanimity, but of weakness, and as a recognition due to their own merit. Looking down on the Chinese with complete and undisguised contempt, they would not hesitate, any more than in earlier years, to join in any insurrection that might arise.

Products and Trade. The products of East Turkestan may be grouped under five heads: wheat and maize; grapes; cotton; silk; cattle and sheep. Of these only the last three are exported: cotton and silk as raw material, animals less as live stock than in the form of manufactured products, as hides, carpets, and felts. The chief market for these exports is Russia; the next, India. In 1904 the value of the exports to Russia was £300,000 (four-fifths by way of Osh, one-fifth by way of Narinskoe); of those to India, £100,000. The imports from India, chiefly cotton and silk textiles, were worth £75,000; those from Russia, £325,000. A considerable proportion of the textile imports from India were marked 'Made in Germany'.⁴⁶

Trade Routes. Through East Turkestan passes the main trade route which, having existed from very early times, connects China with the West. Kashgar forms its centre. From here the main caravan route passes eastward through Aksu, Kucha, Turfan, Kumul, Ansichow to the gate in the Great Wall of China near Suchow on the border of the province of Kansu.⁴⁷ The journey from Kashgar to Suchow takes two months and a half (74 days) as tested by Sir Aurel

Stein.⁴⁸ From Kashgar the main caravan route passes westward via Osh through Russian territory. Another route leads northward from Kashgar to Narinskoe. There is also a caravan route connecting Kashgar with India.⁴⁹ Starting from the Punjab via Kabul in Afghanistan and Leh in West Tibet, it crosses the Karakoram range. The route then divides into two, the one leading to Khotan, the other to Yarkand, which is still the chief mart in Chinese Turkestan as far as trade with India and Afghanistan is concerned. Silk, porcelain, musk, rhubarb are still regular articles of export from China passing through Yarkand. From the latter place the route continues till it reaches Kashgar in the north.⁵⁰

Attitude towards non-Turks. The strongest bond of union among the inhabitants of East Turkestan is, as hitherto in all Islamic lands, that of religion. The second unifying bond is that of their language, to which they give the common name of Turkī. Except as expressed by the latter general term, they are hardly conscious of a racial unity, for they never call themselves Turks, but only name themselves according to the separate parts of the country to which they belong. It is primarily difference of language which keeps them aloof from foreigners. Of the aliens who do not speak Turkī, the Arabs are the only people towards whom they have not this feeling, and whom they hold in high esteem, doubtless because the language of the Arabs is that of the Kuran. They are also well-disposed towards a section of the Persians: not the Shiite population of Iran, who seldom come to East Turkestan, but the Sunnite inhabitants of Badakshan, who are covered by the general name of Tajik. With the Afghans, who have not inconsiderable colonies in Kashgar, Yarkand, and Khotan, there is a good deal of friction. In spite of community of religion, there prevails a pronounced hostility towards the Dungans, the Chinese-speaking Moslems who live in the country and partly also inhabit the valley of the Ili.⁵¹ Here the race feeling is so effective that various conflicts have taken place between the two elements, though it might have been expected that both would combine against the common enemy, the Chinese. Hostility to the Chinese themselves is based on all the most potent causes of estrangement: difference of religion, language, and race, reinforced by the political discontent resulting from the oppressiveness of Chinese rule.

History. We know from early Chinese annalists that a Chinese protectorate was established in the first century B. C. in East Turkestan; that it ceased for more than half a century till it was revived in A. D. 76 and lasted till the end of the Later Han Dynasty (A. D. 25–220). We further know from the evidence of Sir Aurel Stein's archaeological discoveries (corroborating the accounts of Chinese pilgrims from c. A. D. 400–800) that Buddhism was introduced into the country from India in the second century and lasted till the end of the eighth; and that the use of an Indian language derived from Sanskrit and an Indian script prevailed there in the early centuries of our era. After the defeat of the Western Turks in A. D. 658 Chinese sovereignty was restored, and, interrupted by a Tibetan occupation (676–92), lasted till the middle of the eighth century. From A. D. 790 the whole of the Tarim basin seems to have been under Tibetan supremacy till A. D. 860, when it was broken by the Uigurs, who established, north of the T'ien Shan, a powerful kingdom which extended westward as far as Aksu and lasted till it was destroyed by Jenghiz Khan. We have already seen that the south-eastern branch of the Central Asian Turks first became known under the name of Uigurs. This name penetrated to Europe in the sixth and seventh centuries, and the Uigurs early came to be regarded as Turks *par excellence*. Thus they are not mentioned by the Arabic geographers of the ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries as Uigurs, but always only as Turks. It is not till the Mongolian irruption under Jenghiz Khan, with whom they allied themselves, that the name of Uigur is revived and we hear of the country of Uiguristan north of the T'ien Shan. The *Kudatku Bilik* gives the oldest authentic picture of the social conditions of the Turks as drawn by a section of the race itself. It shows that the Uigurs were no longer a nomad people, but were entirely or half settled. It also shows that there were still some remnants of Shamanism among them. It mentions caravans as coming from China. In 1220 Jenghiz Khan conquered Turkestan; and in 1389 Timur devastated both that country and Dzungaria. East Turkestan was visited by the Belgian monk Rubruquis in 1254, by Marco Polo in 1271–5, and in 1603 by Goës, who noted the Moslem tolerance prevailing among the inhabitants.

We have already remarked on the absence of religious fanaticism among them at the present day.

In the seventeenth century there arose a powerful Kalmuk (Mongol) confederation which, expelling the Turkish element from the north-west of the T'ien Shan, extended its rule over the Ili and Issik-kul basins as well as East Turkestan. The Turkish nomads who had been driven southwards wandered during the seventeenth century in the eastern Pamir and the north-western spurs of the Kum Mountains in the region of Sarikol. In 1758 the Chinese invaded Dzungaria, where they perpetrated an appalling massacre, and then conquered East Turkestan. Chinese rule here was temporarily overthrown by Moslems from West Turkestan in 1825, 1830, and 1847. An insurrection broke out in 1857, but after the lapse of a few months the Chinese regained possession of East Turkestan. In 1864 a Dzungarian outbreak expelled the Chinese, and an adventurer from Tashkent named Yakub Bey made himself master of Kashgar. He ruled the country with a strong hand, and not altogether to its disadvantage, till his death in 1877. The dream of a Central Asian Islamic Empire which arose during his dominion then came to an end, for dissensions among his sons gave the Chinese their opportunity. They re-established their rule in 1878, and East Turkestan once more became a Chinese province. But the strong Islamic connexions brought about with the west, especially Tashkent, during Yakub Bey's rule, have been maintained, and owing to the great development of Islam in Russian Turkestan this influence is likely to increase.

a. The Taranchis. To the people of East Turkestan belong the *Taranchis*, the name given to those Sarts who were transported to the Kulja region by the Chinese after they had gained possession in 1758 of the Ili valley along with East Turkestan. The nucleus of this Kulja population were Turks who were descended from the Uigurs, and were partly settled here at the time of the Kalmuk Khans in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Most of them were, however, transferred here as political delinquents from East Turkestan after the Chinese conquered the valley of the Ili in the middle of the eighteenth century. The Chinese are stated to have settled 6,000 families of Taranchis at that time on both banks of the Ili. The Taranchis are said to have numbered 40,000 when

Russia temporarily acquired Kulja; but when this town and district were again ceded to the Chinese, the majority preferred, together with the Dungans (or Chinese-speaking Moslems), to emigrate to that portion of the Ili region which fell to the Russians.

At the present day the Taranchis constitute about two-fifths of the population of Kulja, while their number in the Russian province of Semiryechensk⁵² amounts to 83,000,⁵³ being more than three times as great as that of the Dungans.⁵⁴

The name Taranchi in Chinese means 'agriculturists' or 'labourers'. This is the capacity in which they were employed by the Dzungarians in the seventeenth century.

The Taranchis have retained no individual characteristics. In physical type, occupations, dress, houses, they are not to be distinguished from the Sarts who live south of the T'ien Shan in East Turkestan. Their language, too, is identical with the dialect of the Kashgar Sarts, which itself hardly differs from that of the ordinary Sarts.

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ii b. *West Central Asian Turks*

The Central Asian Turks include a group of four steppe nomad tribes, all inhabitants of Asiatic Russia, the Kazak-Kirghiz, the Kara-Kirghiz, the Kara-Kalpaks, and the Turkmens, who exhibit quite a special civilization. They have always been described as fierce, unruly marauders, not only by Persian, Chinese, and Russian writers, but by European travellers and scholars as well. Lack of the sense of subordination is characteristic of them. They represent, however, only an early stage of development that forms a contrast to the cultural epoch of settled peoples. They do not live in anarchy, but in the perfectly regulated conditions of a primitive civilization.

1. *The Kazak-Kirghiz*

Habitat. The Kazak-Kirghiz are undoubtedly, both in numbers and conservative type, the most important nomad people of Turkish descent. They extend over an immense territory stretching from Kulja and Lake Balkhash in the east to the Aral Sea, the Caspian, and the lower Volga in the west, from the sources of the Irtysh in the north-east to the Pamir and the Uzbek country in the south-west. They thus inhabit a region of nearly 2,000,000 square miles lying roughly between lat. 40° and 55° N. and long. 50° and 80° E. They everywhere roam in steppes and grassy valleys that afford sustenance to their flocks and herds.

Number. This tribe of steppe-dwellers numbered 4,692,384 in 1911.⁵⁵

Name. They never call themselves Kirghiz, but have from of old called themselves only Kazaks, a word supposed to mean 'rider'. It is only by the Russians that they have by mistake been named Kirghiz. They should be carefully distinguished from the Kara-Kirghiz, because, though similar in customs and manner of life, they differ in physique and language. The earliest reference to the name of the Kazaks is to be found in the Persian poet Firdusi (c. A.D. 1020), who speaks of the Kazak tribes as much-dreaded steppe marauders, all mounted and armed with lances.⁵⁶ Since the eighteenth century the Russians have used the compound expression Kirghiz-Kazak chiefly in order to distinguish them from their own Cossacks. Scholars and official writers also employ this term to differentiate the Kazaks from the Kirghiz proper (or Kara-Kirghiz).⁵⁷ The first European to mention the Kirghiz by name was Siegmund Herberstein (1486-1566), who speaks of them as Tatars, that is, as a people of Turkic rather than of Mongolian stock.

Language. The Kazaks, though inhabiting so vast a territory, form so individual a linguistic unit that there is hardly any difference of dialect between the Kazaks on the Caspian and those on the upper Irtysh. The universal prevalence of a nearly pure variety of Turkish speech throughout the Kazak steppes is almost sufficient to show that the Turkish element must at all times have been in the ascendant. But though the language is purely Turkish in structure, it contains not only

many Mongolian, Persian, and even Arabic words, but also some words unknown to the Mongols and perhaps borrowed from Palaeo-Siberians who had been partly absorbed by them.

Racial Affinities. The Kazaks in their whole extent, not only linguistically but also politico-socially, are so unified that they can be called a single people. Their manners, customs, mode of life, and character are everywhere strikingly similar. They have always and everywhere the same consciousness of belonging to the people of the Kazaks. All this divides them sharply from every other Turkish people. Their physique shows that they have an admixture of Mongolian and to a less extent of Iranian blood. The Mongolian element is due to their having mingled with the Volga Kalmuks in the west and the Dzungarian Kalmuks in the east. Thus, though ethnically they represent rather the Mongolian type of features, they retain the primitive Turkish speech of their race unimpaired. The Mongolian type is, however, not so pronounced as in the Altaian Turks (p. 141, 1). They have, it is true, broad, flat faces, but the forehead is not so receding as with the Kalmuks; the cheek-bones are less prominent, while the nose is more so. They have a small mouth, narrow slits of eyes, though not oblique, and a scanty beard. The head is brachycephalic, and the hair long and black. The complexion is dirty brown or swarthy, often of a yellowish tinge. But beside this Mongolian type there are in almost all families single individuals with an entirely different physiognomy: these have oval faces, thick, bushy eyebrows, strong beards, prominent curved noses, and occasionally fair complexions. Such modifications of the fundamental type are probably due to Finno-Ugrian influence in the north, and Iranian in the south. The normal Kazaks are of medium height, broad-shouldered, thick-set, often with a bull-like neck. They are frequently corpulent when advanced in years. Their gait is lumbering, but on horseback they are agile, active, and enduring. Their eyesight is very keen, for they are accustomed continually to observe surrounding nature. They are thus able for days to follow the track of a lost animal.

Character and Habits. In character the Kazaks are honest and trustworthy, but they are heavy, sluggish, sullen, unfriendly, and inhospitable. They are excellent riders, horsemanship being their chief amusement. They are more war-

like than their kinsmen the Kara-Kirghiz. They are hardy and long-lived, but, largely no doubt owing to their dirty habits, they suffer a good deal from diseases such as ophthalmia, small-pox, and syphilis. They are naturally musical and poetical, having a number of national songs⁵⁸ which are usually repeated from mouth to mouth with variations, and are sung to the accompaniment of the flute and an instrument called the *balalaika*. In summer the Kazaks spend most of their time in sleep or in drinking *kumiss*, followed at night by feasting and the recital of tales varied with songs. Though they receive a certain amount of instruction from Mollahs, reading and still more writing are rare accomplishments among them.

Nomadism. The Kazaks are genuine nomads: they wander about the steppes without fixed abodes, always setting up their tents where there is food for their flocks. It is not an aimless roaming in the steppes like that of the hunters in the Tundras and forests of north Siberia. This would be impossible with such large herds as those of the Kazaks, because the interests of neighbours would constantly clash. Hence a definite division of the land takes place: a tribe regards a certain territory as its property; and brooks no intrusion. The tribe again consists of clans, and these of subdivisions, which regard certain sections of the greater territory as belonging to them. In winter either a forest tract or a deep valley sheltered from the wind is resorted to. Here they are altogether confined to the tent, and undergo endless discomforts. In summer, on the other hand, open level tracts, well-watered and not infested by insects, are sought after. It is on the winter abodes that the density of the nomad population depends; hence all conflicts and warlike expeditions of Kazak hordes during past centuries are to be regarded as due to pressure for the obtainment of the best winter quarters. In recent times, under Russian rule, definite districts have been assigned to them, and a regulated condition of property has taken the place of the former less definite state of things. Now every Kazak family has a winter territory which lies within exactly fixed boundaries and can only be transferred by legal sale. The price of the winter tract varies according to its quality, and it is the endeavour of every well-to-do Kazak to improve and add to his winter tract. The summer seats, on the other hand, are the property of the clan as a whole. For these the Kazak generally starts from

his winter abodes with his flocks and herds about the middle of April. The return takes place, usually by the same route, in the middle of August. There is an autumn sojourn of a month on the way (about September 15 to October 15), the winter quarters being taken up at the beginning of November.

Dwellings. The Kazaks live exclusively in *yurtas* or circular tents, consisting of a light wooden framework covered with felt or red cloth, and provided with an opening above for light and ventilation. An invariable feature of the *yurta* is a large iron pot in the centre.

Clothing. The Kazaks wear a flowing robe fastened with a silk or leather girdle, which holds a knife, tobacco-pouch, and other necessities. They also wear wide pantaloons made of cloth, silk, or leather.

Food. The Kazaks live chiefly on boiled mutton, in the cooking of which they are unexcelled. They also eat the flesh of horses and goats. They make butter and cheese from the milk chiefly of sheep, less commonly from that of cows. From fermented mare's milk they produce *kumiss*, which is their universal drink and which they consume in large quantities.

Occupations. The chief occupation of the Kazaks is the breeding of five classes of animals: camels, horses, sheep, goats, cattle. They raise camels only in small numbers, but keep far more horses than are required, probably because the Kazaks are a nation of riders. They breed only one kind of sheep, the fat-tailed variety. These are strong and very fleshy, but the wool yielded by their fleece is very hard. The tail is often very heavy, and has to be dragged on the ground; a kind of cart with two wheels is accordingly attached below it for its support. Some of the wealthy Kazaks own as many as 20,000 of these large fat-tailed sheep. The vast herds and flocks are the chief property of the Kazak. They are at the same time his sole means of existence. Their loss means to him death by starvation. Their relative importance is well expressed in his greeting, 'Are your animals and your people well?' On their products he depends not only for food, but for clothing and even housing. The chief industries are therefore skin-dressing and weaving. The wool is turned into felt, which for firmness is superior to that of the Kalmuks and Mongols. It is used for covering the *yurtas*, for mattresses,

and for other things into which it can be made. A large amount of this felt is exported to Central Asia and Russia. Six kinds of carpets are made out of the fine felt. They are coloured with vegetable dyes produced in the country or with dyes bought from the Russians. Tanned lambskins are exported to Russia in great quantities. Of lambskins the Kazaks also make furs and caps. They make their own riding trousers exclusively of goatskins, which they also export in large numbers to Russian villages. There are among the Kazaks also a few workers in silver, copper, and iron. Trade is confined among them mainly to the exchange of live stock, skins, felts, and carpets for woven and other goods from Russia, East Turkestan, and China.

Three great Divisions or Hordes. An old division⁵⁹ of the Kazaks is that into three hordes called *jūs* ('hundred'), which are subdivided into tribes and clans down to communities of five to fifteen tents.

1. The great Horde comprises the nomads south of Lake Balkhash between the Chinese frontier east of Lake Issik-kul and the Yaxartes (Sir Darya). It is subdivided into a large number of clans.⁶⁰

2. The middle Horde occupies the steppe to the north of the great Horde between the upper Tobol and the upper Irtish. It comprises five tribes (subdivided into many clans): the Argyn, quite in the north of the steppe, on the middle Irtish, Tobol, and Ishim; the Naiman, south of the Argyn, on the middle Irtish, from the Chinese frontier to Lake Balkhash; the Kipchak in the north-western part of the steppe near the rivers Turgai, Uhagan, Tobol, Uya, as far as the town of Troitsk; the Kirai, mostly on the upper Irtish in Chinese territory; and the Kongrat, chiefly in the neighbourhood of Tashkent.

3. The little Horde are the nomads of the western steppe only, wandering mainly between the Aral and the Caspian. It consists of the large tribe called Alshin and an association of seven clans. A part of the Alshin tribe in 1801 migrated into the Government of Astrakhan, and forms the so-called 'Inner Horde'.

All the Kazaks of the three hordes count the mythical Alash-khan as their tribal ancestor, and all three use *Alash* as their watchword. Each clan also uses the name of one of its

remote clan ancestors as its special watchword, and has its special insignia and its own genealogy.⁶¹

Organization. Though the Kazaks have been completely subject to Russia since the eighteenth century, the tribal and clan organization still remains fairly strong. They still choose their own Khans, who are confirmed by the Russian Government, but possess little authority beyond their respective tribes. The real rulers are the elders of clans appointed by public election. Brigandage and raids arising out of tribal or clan feuds were formerly recognized institutions, but are now severely punished. But though, since their subjection to Russia, the Kazaks have become less lawless, they have scarcely become less nomadic. A change of habit in this respect is opposed not only to their tastes, but to the conditions of the country which they inhabit. All the tribes are thus so essentially nomadic that they cannot adopt a settled life without losing their sense of nationality and being absorbed in the Russian population.

Religion. The Kazaks adopted Islam about A.D. 1500, and are adherents of the Sunnite sect. But though Mohammedanism has destroyed the religious side of their civilization, except the cult of the hearth, their belief is lax. They have few Mollahs, no Mosques or regular prayers, and they make few pilgrimages to Mecca; but they revere the tombs of saints, which are a prominent feature in the steppe landscape. The chief prescription of the Kuran for which they show respect is polygamy. They are really Shamanists at heart, worshipping besides the *Kudai*, or good divinity, the *Shaitan*, or bad spirit. They have a strong belief in the *talchi*, or soothsayer, and other charlatans.

History. The Kazaks (as well as the Kara-Kirghiz) seem, from ancient times, to have been at home in the same parts of Central Asia as they still occupy. They are already mentioned by Zemarchos, who traversed their country on his way to the Altai, as nomads on more or less the same steppes as those on which they wander to-day. They were probably in possession of the great steppe to the north of Yaxartes (Sir Darya) long before the time of Jenghiz (1162-1227), under whose sway they came and under whom (as well as Timur) they fought. After Jenghiz Khan's death they fell to the share of his eldest son Juji, head of the Golden Horde, but con-

tinued to retain their own Khans. When the Uzbegs acquired the ascendancy many of the former subjects of the Juji and Jagatai hordes seceded and joined the Kazaks. Thus about A.D. 1500 the Kazaks formed a powerful state, having under their Khan Arslan, as stated by the Sultan Babar⁶² (1483–1530), the founder in 1526 of the Mogul dynasty in India, as many as 400,000 fighting men. Their numbers continued to be swelled by fragments of the Golden Horde, such as the Kipchaks and others. The middle and the little Hordes of the Kazaks voluntarily submitted in 1730 to the Empress Anne of Russia. Most of the great Horde were subdued by Yanus Khan of Ferghana in 1798, and all the still independent tribes finally accepted Russian sovereignty in 1819.

During the centuries when the hordes of the Kazaks lived in perfect freedom between the extreme limits of the Russian and the Chinese empires, which were not yet strong enough to attempt to subject them, they never showed the capacity of uniting to a single power and of forming an organized political state. They lacked the fundamental requisite, the force of a common interest, which alone would have been capable of combining their tribes and clans. The power of the Khan was nowhere able to guarantee their property to individuals or to protect them from the irruptions of neighbours, for it was far beyond his capacity to rule the vast territory nominally subject to him. The power of wild hordes surrounding a leader of this kind became effective only when they invaded a hostile territory: motives of self-preservation in face of subjected foes forced the single tribes to hold together, the whole horde being transformed into an army, as was the case during the invasions of Jenghiz Khan. The Kazak hordes have had no opportunities for such temporary consolidation during the last two centuries. Every tribe, having otherwise no interest in looking beyond its own borders, always aimed at the obtaining of as much prosperity as possible. It therefore resorted to arms only when the advancement of its prosperity impelled it to do so, or when the political circumstances of neighbours promised rapid acquisition of great wealth by means of predatory attack. Marauding excursions in the unlimited steppe, the conflicts and insurrections of which the history of the Kazaks consists in previous centuries, would have completely ruined any settled people. But for the nomads it was a period

of prosperity: it was just under these circumstances that the wealth and the prestige of the Kazaks increased. But since peace and quiet have entered the Kirghiz steppe, there has been a steady decline in the prosperity of the Kazak tribes, increasing with the progress of order. That the warlike and marauding spirit has not been extinguished among them by Russian rule is indicated by what happened in 1916 among their kinsmen, the Kara-Kirghiz.⁶³ Their turbulent spirit may very well revive with the resumption of political independence. In the beginning of 1918 Russian Turkestan was reported⁶⁴ to have declared itself a republic as a federal state of Russia. Five months later a meeting of Bolshevist delegates, including fifty Mohammedans, declared that Turkestan should be autonomous, but federated to Russia.

BIBLIOGRAPHY.—Vambéry, *Die primitive Cultur des Turko-Tatarischen Volkes*, pp. 440-1; *Das Türkenvolk*, pp. 279-313. Radloff, *Aus Sibirien*, vol. i, pp. 406-39. Landsell, *Russian Central Asia*, 1885. Ostronmoff, *A geography of the Turkestan country, with an account of the Khanates of Bokhara and Khiva, and a map of the country*, Samarkand, 1891 (translated from official text-book of geography). Skrine and Ross, *Heart of Asia*, 1899. Parker, *A Thousand Years of the Tartars*, 1895. Kraft, *À travers le Turkestan russe*, Paris, 1902. Meakin, *In Russian Turkestan: A Garden of Asia and its people*, London, 1903 (maps and illustrations). Curtis, *Turkestan, the heart of Asia*, London, 1911. Woëikoff, *Le Turkestan russe*, Paris, 1914. Stephen Graham, *Through Russian Central Asia*, 1916.

2. The Kara-Kirghiz

Habitat. The Kara-Kirghiz live chiefly in the Government of Semiryechensk, especially in the region south of Lake Issik-kul, on the slopes of the T'ien Shan, extending from the river Tekes westwards towards Khokand and the rivers Chu and Talas; southwards to the Pamir plateau and to the northern slopes of the Karakoram range; and eastwards into the district of Sarikol in the western parts of Chinese Turkestan. The western limits of the present territory of the Kara-Kirghiz are the watersheds of the rivers Chatkal and Talas. On the east they extend beyond Aksu into Chinese territory. In the south they reach to the neighbourhood of Shahid-ullah on the road from Leh to Yarkand.

Number. Their numbers exceed 400,000,⁶⁵ of whom the great majority are found in the Government of Semirye-chensk.

Name. The Kara-Kirghiz or 'Black' Kirghiz appear to be so called from the colour of their tents.⁶⁶ They call themselves simply Kirghiz. The name is already mentioned in the sixth century in the form of Kherkis by Zemarchos⁶⁷ in his account of the embassy sent by the Emperor Justin II to the Altai. By the Mongols and Chinese they are called Bur-ut.⁶⁸

Race. The Kara-Kirghiz, having remained almost entirely unmixed, are on the whole the purest and best representatives of the Turkish race. It is to them alone that the distinctive national name of Kirghiz strictly belongs.⁶⁹

Branches. There are two main branches of the Kara-Kirghiz, the *Sal* ('left') in the west, between the head streams of the Talas and the Oxus in Ferghana and Bokhara, where they come in contact with the Galchas, or Highland Tajiks; and the *Ong* ('right'), who are much less numerous, in the east, on both sides of the T'ien Shan about Lake Issik-kul, and in the Chu, Tekes, and Narim (upper Yaxartes) valleys. Each of these branches is divided into six or more tribes.⁷⁰

Occupations. The Kara-Kirghiz are essentially nomads, whose chief occupation is stock-breeding. Some, however, engage in agriculture, growing wheat, barley, and millet. They trade chiefly by barter, cattle being exchanged for manufactures from Turkestan, China, and Russia. Their industries differ only slightly from those of the Kazaks. Their domestic animals and their daily pursuits are also much the same. They breed camels, horses, cattle, sheep, goats, and pigs.

Their method of encamping is described by Radloff⁷¹ as differing from that of the Kazaks. In winter they encamp in whole clans on the banks of rivers in an uninterrupted series of *yurtas*, often extending to several miles in length. In summer they similarly encamp in rows of *yurtas* as they move higher and higher into the mountains, each clan thus using a particular strip of pasture. This method of nomad encamping is partly due to the geographical conditions of the country, but also to the warlike character of the people itself. It enables a whole army in a few hours to be ready for attack or defence. That their turbulent spirit can easily be aroused is shown by the Russian official account⁷² (printed below as Appendix B) of a rising of the Kara-Kirghiz which took place in August, 1916. The instigator of this revolt appears to have been the German emissary, Dr. Werner Otto von Hentig, as

indicated by a notice in *The Times* of June 12, 1917, and printed below as Appendix A, p. 229.

Government. The Kara-Kirghiz are governed by tribal rulers elected by themselves, who enjoy unlimited authority and with whom the Russian administration interferes but little.

History. Having played a much less important part in political events than the Kazaks, the Kara-Kirghiz are very seldom mentioned in history. Their name in its present form occurs for the first time, as stated above, in the sixth century after Christ. They are mentioned in Chinese chronicles of the thirteenth century as living on the T'ien Shan. It is therefore likely that the Kara-Kirghiz have inhabited this region since then down to the present time.

BIBLIOGRAPHY.—Vambéry, *Das Türkenvolk*, pp. 257-78. Radloff, *Aus Sibirien*, pp. 230-41.

3. *The Kara-Kalpaks*

Habitat. The Kara-Kalpaks, or 'Black-caps', inhabit chiefly the territory to the south-east of the Sea of Aral and on the eastern side of the lower course of the Amu Darya (Oxus).

Number. They number 134,313 altogether in Russian Turkestan. The majority (111,425) live in the Amu Darya division of the Sir Darya province, forming 50 per cent. of the population of that division. The rest live in the Khanate and in the Khokand district of the province of Ferghana (22,888).

Name. Their name of 'Black-caps' has been given to them in allusion to their high sheepskin hats.

Characteristics. The Kara-Kalpaks of the pure type, who live near the Aral Sea, are a tall, powerful race, with broad, flat faces, large eyes, short noses, and heavy chins. Their women are described as the most beautiful in Russian Turkestan. They are pacific by temperament, and have consequently suffered much from the attacks of their fierce nomadic neighbours, the Kazak-Kirghiz.

Manner of Life. The Kara-Kalpaks are still to a certain extent nomads, with large herds of cattle; but they are on the whole a peaceful agricultural people.

History. They are mentioned by the Russian annalist Nestor (eleventh century) by the name of 'Black Hats', along with the Turkmens, as neighbours of the Russians. Later they

ruled for a time at Kazan on the middle Volga. Afterwards they moved from that region to Central Asia. The raids of the Kazak-Kirghiz drove them several times to move their abodes, till ultimately they sought refuge under Russian sovereignty in 1742. In the first half of the eighteenth century they were still located at the mouths of the Sir Darya, but now they are mostly to be found in the delta of the Oxus, and only sporadically in the district of Zarafshan.

BIBLIOGRAPHY.—*Asiatic Russia*, vol. i, p. 163. Vambéry, *Das Türkenvolk*, pp. 87, 442-3.

4. *The Turkmens*

Habitat. The Turkmens have from time immemorial been settled in their present home, the steppe region between the Oxus and the Caspian, extending from the north of the latter sea south-eastwards, bounded by Persia and Afghanistan in the south, and the Khanates of Khiva and Bokhara on the east. Their chief habitat is thus the Province of Transcaspia. Here there seem never to have been other nomads than the Turkmens. There are also some Turkmen tribes in the Oxus plains of Afghan Turkistan (the northernmost province of Afghanistan); in Persian territory near the Hari Rud (not far from the Afghan frontier) as well as in the Persian province of Astarabad (near the south-east corner of the Caspian); and in Turkey itself, scattered over the central plain of Anatolia.

Number. The number of Turkmens in the Russian Empire was 290,170 in 1911.⁷³ No figures seem to be available for the Turkmens of Persia, Afghanistan, and Turkey, but it may be conjectured that their total number does not exceed 350,000.

Name. Turkmen is the correct form of the name, Turcoman being merely a variation in spelling. As Turks *par excellence* they have probably retained the name because, according to tradition, at the time of Oghuz Khan all Turks were called Turkmen ('Turkdom').

Characteristics. In physical type the Turkmens are Turks in the most proper sense. Though they belong to the group of the west-central Turks, they form a link with the western Turks, not differing essentially from the Azarbaijans of Persia and the Osmanlis of Anatolia, except that down to the Russian occupation of Merv (1883) they retained the condition of pre-

datory, horse-riding nomads, who were greatly feared by their neighbours as 'man-stealing Turks'. Until their subjection by the Russians, the Turkmens were a warlike people, who conquered their neighbours. It was their boast that not one Persian had crossed their frontier except with a rope round his neck.

Now they have become a peaceful population. Among the early Arabic writers who mention them, Mas'udi (943-8) speaks of the Turkmens as thick-set and with small eyes, and as much feared by their neighbours owing to their power. There can be no doubt that by the people whom they call 'Ghuz' (derived from an earlier Oghuz) they meant the Turkmens of to-day. For Rashid-ed-din Tabibi, the genealogist of the Turkish race, at the beginning of his account of their origin, remarks, 'At that time the whole people of Oghuz still goes by the name of Turkmen.' The names Ghuz and Turkmen were also in alternative use, for while the Byzantines and Arabs prefer to speak of the Uz or Ghuz, Nestor, in the eleventh century, speaks of the Turkmens as neighbours of the Kara-Kalpaks, and the name Turkmen or Turcoman was not unknown to the writers who describe the crusades.

Tribes. The Turkmens are divided into seven main tribes, each of which consists of several clans. They are the following :

(1) The *Chaudors*, the remains of a powerful tribe which in the sixteenth century occupied a considerable part of the territory of the east coast of the Caspian. They now wander in the steppe north of Karabugas Bay.

(2) The *Yamut* chiefly inhabit the south-east coast of the Caspian. A considerable part of them have settled in the island of Cheleken, and have exchanged cattle-breeding for the petroleum industry which prevails there. A fraction of this tribe is to be found half-settled in the Khanate of Khiva, especially in the south-western part, whither they seem to have been forcibly transplanted as colonists at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

(3) The *Göklens* live in the mountains near the upper course of the Atrak river, in the territory of the Shah of Persia, to whom they pay, or used to pay, tribute. They are said to be the most civilized and friendly of all the Turkmens. As occupying the richest pasture-land on the northern edge of

Persia, they have from early times suffered much from the attacks of the Persians as well as the Kurds.

(4) The *Tekkes* are first heard of in the peninsula of Mangishlak on the north-eastern coast of the Caspian. They were driven out of it by the Kalmuks in 1718. Later they occupied the Akhal oasis, extending south-eastwards from Kizil-Arvat along the Persian frontier, and the oasis of Merv. They were the most important Turkmen tribe when the Russians conquered Transcaspia. They suffered a crushing defeat at Gök-tepe in 1881.

(5) The *Sariks* have at all times lived on the middle Murghab from Yolatan to the western spurs of the Paropamisus range, in the neighbourhood of Penjdeh. They seem to be first mentioned towards the end of the fifteenth century. They are divided into five branches, which are again split into lesser clans. Their number has been greatly reduced by the severe conflicts in which they have been engaged during the nineteenth century with the Tekkes and the Salors, as well as the Persians.

(6) The *Salors* are accounted the oldest and noblest of the Turkmen tribes. Salor is the name of the great-grandson of the mythical Oghuz Khan. It is known that the Salors came in contact with the Arabs when the latter were advancing towards the Oxus in the seventh century. Later, Salor was accounted a collective name for all the Turkmens. Thus they were the first of the Turkmen tribes to appear on the stage of history, and they have preserved their generic name longest. From ancient times they have remained in their old home in the western corner of the Paropamisus range. They are also found scattered in groups, north, south, and east of Merv. A section of them migrated, in 1857, into Persian territory on the left bank of the Hari Rud near the Afghan frontier. They suffered much during the nineteenth century in conflict with the Tekkes. It is not likely that they will long maintain their identity as a warlike independent tribe of nomads.

(7) The *Ersaris* in the middle of the sixteenth century were near the south-west coast of the Caspian, and a century later in the Mangishlak peninsula, whence they were driven by a tribe of Uzbeks into the steppe in the south of the Üst-Yurt plateau. In the beginning of the eighteenth century they are found, subject to Bokhara, on the left bank of the Oxus, where

they still live, from Khwaja Salar to Kerki, near which place they are most numerous, while farther up the river there are but few of them. They are in a stage of transition to a settled mode of life, and with the adoption of agriculture are losing their warlike spirit as well as many traits of their nomad tradition.

There are, besides these seven main tribes, several scattered half-nomadic groups of Turkmens, living on the Volga, in the district of Amu Darya, and in the region of Zarafshan, Astrakhan, and Sir Darya. All these Vambéry estimated at about 16,000 in the aggregate. The population of the seven main tribes is greatly over-estimated by him, as the total of his figures amounts to nearly one million Turkmens.⁷⁴

BIBLIOGRAPHY.—Vambéry, *Das Türkenvolk*, pp. 19-21, 385-415 (385-8, linguistic affinities; 391-402, tribes). *Asiatic Russia*, vol. i, p. 175.

5. *The Sarts*

Habitat. Interposed in the chain of the west-central group of Turks lies a mixed Turkish people, the *Sarts*, who occupy the territory which, lying on both sides of the Sir Darya (Yaxartes), extends from Samarkand in the west to beyond Tashkent in the east. The great majority are found in Ferghana, nearly all the rest in the territories of Sir Darya and Samarkand.

Number. In population the Sarts take the second place among the Turkish peoples of Asiatic Russia, coming next to the Kazaks with 1,847,000. There are 1,392,167 in Ferghana, 359,744 in the territory of Sir Darya, and 73,634 in that of Samarkand.

Race. They are a mixed race based on the original Iranian inhabitants of the fertile parts of Turkestan, who have intermingled with their conquerors, the Turkish Uzbeks. They are sharply divided in their type from the remaining Turkish inhabitants of Central Asia, resembling completely the Persian-speaking Tajiks in build, swarthy complexion, large expressive black eyes, straight nose, average mouth, even straight teeth, bushy black brows, and very strong beards. Their physical type and the fact that at Khojend and Samarkand they speak Persian combine to show that the Iranians and not the Turks were the fundamental element in this population. They themselves know nothing of their origin.

Name. This people are called Sart both by the Kazaks and the Uzbeks, their surrounding neighbours. The name Sart is given by the Russians both to the Turkish language spoken in Bokhara, Samarkand, and Ferghana and to the people speaking it, as opposed to Tajik,⁷⁵ which denotes the Iranian agricultural population immediately to the south of the territory occupied by the Sarts. The term is not properly an ethnological name. It is found in the Turkish work *Kudatku Bilik* (eleventh century) in the sense of 'merchant',⁷⁶ because at this time and still earlier Iranian merchants from the Oxus traded among the Turks. Hence the word *Sart* (from old Turkish 'to wander') came to be used for (Iranian) 'merchant' and finally for (non-nomad) 'agricultural Iranian'.

Contrast with Tajik. His nearest kinsman, the Tajik, representing the pure Iranian, besides retaining his Iranian physique, retains his Iranian language also. The Sart, while retaining much of his original type, speaks Turkish throughout. He has, however, lost what is still to be found among the Tajiks, and is their chief peculiarity—a graceful carriage. The Sarts also show less individuality, being unusually alike and uniform.

Occupation. As occupation the Sarts prefer trade or light work; but they like complete inactivity best.

Religion. Like their pure Turkish neighbours, the Sarts in religion are Mohammedan Sunnites.

BIBLIOGRAPHY.—Radloff, *Aus Sibirien*, pp. 224–5. Vambéry, *Das Türken-volk*, p. 370. *Asiatic Russia*, vol. i, p. 164.

Here may be mentioned two Turkish tribes inhabiting the region of the Yaxartes (Sir Darya).

6. *The Kipchaks*

The Kipchaks are a half-nomadic tribe inhabiting the north of Ferghana, especially the district of Andijan and Osh, in the region south of the upper Sir Darya, forming about 10 per cent. of the population of the former Khanate of Khokand. They consist of purely Turkish elements from Central Asia. They are perhaps more correctly to be regarded as a clan of the Kara-Kirghiz, and should be called Kirghiz-Kipchaks. Although they are partly settled, they have preserved the wild and warlike spirit of complete nomads. In all the feuds, wars,

and revolutions of modern Khokand they have had the lion's share, and consequently acquired in Central Asia a reputation for extraordinary bravery. Their numbers were 60,785 in 1911, according to *Asiatic Russia*.⁷⁷

BIBLIOGRAPHY.—Vambéry, *Das Türkenvolk*, p. 278 (cp. *Reise in Mittelasien*, Leipzig, 1865). Alexander Kuhn, *Das Gebiet Ferghana, das frühere Khanat von Chokand*, in *Russische Revue*, viii, 352. Radloff, *Aus Sibirien*, vol. i, p. 225.

7. *The Kuramas*

The Kuramas are a completely settled people living on the banks of the Chirchik and the Angren, tributaries of the Yaxartes. They consist of a mixture of impoverished Kazaks, who have been forced to settle, and of Sarts or perhaps Uzbeks. At the present day they form the most industrious part of the population of the middle Yaxartes. Their name Kurama in Turkish means 'mixture'. Their numbers are quoted by Vambéry from Kostenko (of the general staff in Russian Turkestan) as 77,301. As they are not mentioned in the census lists of *Asiatic Russia*, they are perhaps, in the latter work, included among the Sarts.

BIBLIOGRAPHY.—Radloff, *Aus Sibirien*, vol. i, p. 224. Vambéry, *Das Türkenvolk*, pp. 312 and 372.

8. *The Uzbeks*

Habitat. The Uzbeks occupy the country which extends from about long. 72° E. along the east side of the Oxus, and from about lat. 41° N. also on the west side down to the Aral Sea, being bounded on the latter side by the territory of the Turkmens. They are the predominating population of the province of Samarkand, and of some parts of the provinces of Ferghana and Sir Darya. In the Khanates of Khiva and Bokhara, where the Turkish element forms the great majority, the proportion of Uzbeks is great. In Khiva, where the Turks in general form 99 per cent. of the whole population, the Uzbeks number 65 per cent.; while in Bokhara, of the 67 per cent. of Turks, about one half (or about 33 per cent. of the whole population) are Uzbeks. A considerable part of the population of the towns of Afghan Turkistan (the most northern province of Afghanistan) are of Uzbek stock.

Number. The number of Uzbeks in Russian Asia amounts

to 592,150.⁷⁸ To these must be added the Uzbegs in Afghanistan, estimated by Vambéry at 200,000, making an aggregate of about 800,000 Uzbegs. The numbers of the Uzbegs in the three territories of Russian Turkestan in which they live are : Samarkand, 490,143 ; Sir Darya, 76,784 ; Ferghana, 25,223.

Name. The term Uzbeg is not an ethnological, but a political name. It is derived from Uzbeg Khan, who ruled the Golden Horde till 1340, and who was a great propagator of Islam. So 'Uzbeg' in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries came to mean Moslem Turks, as opposed to those who still remained in the rough civilization associated with Shamanism. At the beginning of the sixteenth century this name was assumed by the adherents of Shabani Khan, the last conqueror of Transoxiana. Finally it was employed as the designation of the ruling tribes in the Central Asian Khanates (much as Osmanli in Turkey), in opposition to Kirghiz and Sarts as well as to non-Turkish tribes.

Race. The Uzbegs are of Turkish origin, but they are a mixed race, the elements of which are, however, for the most part various Turkish clans. The army with which Shabani Khan invaded Transoxiana from the lower Yaxartes on the north-east consisted chiefly of Turkish nomads inhabiting the tract between the Aral Sea and the river Ural. The population which they here found and conquered was itself a Turkish one, with some Mongolian admixture, who had reached a more advanced civilization, and who described the northern Turkish invaders as naked barbarians, denouncing their vandalism in destroying many works of art in Samarkand. The Turkish amalgam produced by the conquest gradually adopted from the conquering element the name of Uzbeg, which thus acquired the value of an ethnic designation for the Turks of Transoxiana. The inhabitants of Khiva, on the left bank of the Oxus, are, with the exception of the Turkmens and a few Sarts in the towns, Uzbegs throughout. In Bokhara the Uzbegs, on both banks of the Zarafshan, as well as in the southern and western districts, form the preponderant part of the agricultural population. A similar remark applies to the Uzbegs of Kunduz, Khulm, Akcha, Shibarghan, Andkhui, and Maimana in Afghan territory.

There are said to be thirty-two clans among the Uzbegs. When sections of the same clan have become locally separated,

the bond of kinship is by no means so strong among the Uzbegs as, for example, among Turkmens and Kirghiz.

Characteristics. It is impossible to give a general account of a specifically Uzbeg type, because of the influence exercised by the admixture, in different localities, of Tajik, Sart, Persian, and Afghan blood. Thus the Uzbegs, even in different parts of Khiva, may to some extent be distinguished. Here the Uzbeg may be described as taller than the Kirghiz and more thick-set than the Turkmens, but not so tall and not so strongly built as the Kara-Kalpak. The head of the Khiva Uzbeg has an oval shape, his eyes are elongated, his nose is mostly thick, his mouth large, his chin round, his cheek-bones not specially prominent, and his complexion much fairer than that of the Tajiks. His hair is more abundant than that of the Turkmens, and its colour is predominantly brown. The Uzbegs of Bokhara show traces of a more intensive mixture with the original Aryan inhabitants, for dark hair and skin is much more frequent than in Khiva, while the Uzbegs of Khokand are scarcely to be distinguished from the Sarts living there. Ujfalvy⁷⁹ gives the following general description of the Uzbeg. He is of medium height, thin, with a dark-brown skin tinged with yellow; his hair is black, red, and rarely chestnut brown;⁸⁰ his beard sparse and black, his nose short, straight, and broad at the base, his lips thick and protruding, his brows arched but rather scanty, his mouth large, his chin massive, his cheek-bones prominent, his whole face inclined to be square, his ears large and prominent, his hands and feet small. Vambéry⁸¹ thinks that a generalization such as this can hardly be accepted, owing to local variations observed by himself and to the divergent impressions made on different travellers by the external appearance of the Uzbegs.

Besides still retaining many genuine Turkish customs, such as subdivision into clans, the Uzbegs preserve most of the attractive qualities of their Turkish kinsmen. The uniform basis of their character is honesty, independence, and gravity. They regard swift bodily movement as degrading, and consider slow action of the limbs and stony expressionlessness of face to be essential elements of decorum. With these qualities their mental sluggishness harmonizes, and they are consequently taken advantage of by the more alert Tajik. The Uzbeg's ideal is the fearless and loyal warrior, straight in speech and

action. He has consequently been averse to peaceful occupation and the cultivation of arts and sciences. He looks down on the Tajik artisan and merchant as an inferior being. He does not even regard very highly his Mollah or spiritual teacher. His lower intellectual capacity is shown by the fact that in the colleges of Khiva and Bokhara, Uzbek theological students are regularly found to be surpassed in ability by those of Tajik descent.

In compensation for these weak points the Uzbek shows many fine traits in his family life. He treats his wife much better than the Tajik does, and the deference paid by children, even when advanced in years, to their parents is striking. Though in public intercourse the rules of Islam prevail among them, in private, within the walls of their dwellings, the practices of primitive nomadic life still survive, little affected by the Iranian Moslem civilization in the midst of which the Uzbeks have lived for centuries.

Mode of Life. In their manner of life the Uzbeks are partly settled and partly half-nomads. The former, found chiefly in the Khanates, are engaged almost exclusively in agriculture, only very few carrying on trade or industry. They are specially numerous along the Zarafshan river, and above all along the left bank of the Oxus in Khiva, where the Uzbek husbandman is a model of his order. He is thoroughly versed in the very important art of irrigation, and is devoted to his occupation. The Uzbek generally cultivates his own fields, and it is difficult to realize that this simple, honest peasant represents a conquering race. But he has remained a warrior down to modern times, and this same peasant who follows his plough is still ready to leap into the saddle, and, sword in hand, to fight vigorously against his enemies. The Uzbeks in fact form the fighting men in Khiva, Bokhara, and on the left bank of the Oxus. In the latter locality they have suffered a good deal in conflict with the still more warlike Afghans.

Showing little aptitude for trade or industry, the Uzbek prefers an open-air life, living in isolated settlements, where he pitches his felt-covered tent in a court surrounded by high walls, liking it better even in winter than a fixed abode. The nomad life would still appeal to him most if circumstances permitted him to follow it. The number of complete nomads

among the Uzbegs is, however, extremely small, being at the present day almost exclusively limited to the left bank of the Oxus in Afghan Turkistan. The number of half-nomads is considerably larger, because every Uzbeg is biassed in favour of this mode of life, and is ready to spend the summer in the open with his flocks and herds. But if the Uzbegs remain under Russian rule they will doubtless in the end completely settle down to agriculture and other peaceful occupations, as the Tatars of Kazan and Astrakhan have done.

Language. The language of the Uzbegs is called Jagatai from the name of Jenghiz Khan's son, which came to be applied not only to the Central Asian dominions ruled by him, but to the Turkish language spoken by the inhabitants of that region. The term Jagatai should properly be restricted to the early literary records, which are written in the Uigur language of the earliest Turkish settled inhabitants of Central Asia who came from the east. The Uzbeg language is the result of the dialect of the Turkish invaders from the north being grafted on the older Jagatai.

Literature. Uzbeg literature, that is, the modern Turkish literature of Central Asia, is only a popular literature, which cannot compete with the superior Persian literature of Central Asia. It consists chiefly of religious and chivalrous tales derived from Moslem legend and the popular poetry of the nomads, especially the Kirghiz, adapted to the somewhat more refined taste of the Khanates. The historical works are for the most part annals of Khiva and translations from Persian or Arabic.

Civilization. Owing to the different influences to which the Uzbegs of the Khanates have been subject and the varying length of time since they have become settled, their civilization is not uniform. Those who live on the lower Oxus and on its left bank have preserved more traces of their old Turkish ways than their kinsmen in Bokhara, Khokand, and East Turkestan. Again, the Uzbeg of Khiva, the most genuine representative of the race, observes many practices of the Persian civilization of the ancient state of Khwarizm (Khiva). This indicates that Turks were already settled on the lower Oxus before the adoption of Islam. Among the reminiscences of Persian influence is the celebration of the spring equinox, which is as strictly observed in Khiva as among the Persians of Iran. Traces of

fire-worship survive in the belief of the Khiva Uzbegs in the healing power of the sun and of fire. Traces even of old Iranian myths have been preserved among the Turks of the lower Oxus. In dress the Uzbeg resembles his kinsman the Turkmen rather than the Iranian Tajik. In food he differs little from other Turkish nomads; only *kumiss* is hardly ever to be met with. In spite of centuries of Moslem influence, it is not the parents who arrange marriages, but the young people themselves. The *kalim* paid for the bride consists of horses, cows, sheep, camels, and so forth. The worship of saints flourishes much less among the Uzbegs of Khiva than those of Bokhara and Khokand, and the number of pilgrimages to Mecca is exceedingly small.

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iii. *The Volga Turks*

1. *Kazan Turks*

Habitat. The Volga Turks are found, with Kazan as their centre, to the north, east, and west of the middle course of the Volga. They are almost restricted to the territory of the following ten governments of Russia: Kazan, Orenburg, Samara, Simbirsk, Vyatka, Saratov, Penza, Nizhni Novgorod, Perm, and Tambov. A small number of them are scattered about elsewhere, perhaps altogether 20,000. Most of these have migrated to Ryazan or are descended from prisoners who in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were settled in Lithuania about Vilna, Grodno, and Podolia. Others (about 2,000) live in Petrograd, where they pursue the callings of coachmen and of waiters in restaurants. There are also some in the Plock district of Poland.

Number. The total number of the Volga Turks is about 1,500,000. The Government of Kazan contains by far the most, with more than half a million; Orenburg comes next with over a quarter of a million. The Turkish population in the other governments diminishes in the order in which they are enumerated above, down to Tambov with scarcely 15,000.

Name. By the Russians these, like other Turks living in Russian territory, are called Tatars. But they call themselves simply Moslems or Musulmans, as opposed to the surrounding

Russian Christians; for among them religion is by far the strongest and most distinctive bond of union.

Language. In spite of the racial mixture the Volga Tatars speak a pure Turkish dialect.

Race. It is somewhat uncertain who exactly were the ancestors of the Turks of Kazan, or how and when they reached their present home. It is, however, not improbable that they are descended from that section of the Kipchak horde which in the thirteenth century moved northward and conquered the region of the Kama, and after the devastations of Jenghiz Khan and Timur, mingling with the remnants of the old Bulgars, retired westwards and founded the city of Kazan, out of which, in 1445, the Khanate of Kazan was created. It is also likely that other elements of the Golden Horde came from the south-east and settled in Kazan. In any case, there is no doubt as to the Turkish origin of the Kazan Tatars, or the strong racial admixture which they have undergone. The Eastern Finns (Votyaks, Mordvins, Cheremisses), who from time immemorial have dwelt on the middle Volga, undoubtedly exercised a great influence on the ethnic development of this people.

Characteristics. Their physical characteristics are sufficient to show that they are a mixture of Turks and Finns. They are middle-sized, broad-shouldered, deep-chested, and strong. They have long, regular faces, rather high cheek-bones, straight noses, mostly black eyes, a yellowish complexion, and thin beards.

The Volga Turks are on the whole distinguished by their sobriety, honesty, thrift, and industry. By their assiduity they often acquire considerable wealth. They live on the best terms with their Russian peasant neighbours.

Occupations. The chief occupation of the Kazan Turk is trade, to which he at once turns when he has acquired a small capital by agriculture. On his commercial journeys he is always a propagandist of Islam. His chief industries are soap-boiling, spinning, and weaving. He is sometimes a worker in gold. He makes a good shoemaker and coachman.

Dwellings. The houses of the Volga Turks differ from those of the Russians, the windows all looking into an inner court, as with their kinsmen who live far away in Chinese Turkestan. These Turks are more cleanly in their houses than the Russian peasantry.

Customs. In the marriage customs of these Turks, the price of the bride (*kalim*) is as important as among their nomad kinsmen. It is negotiated between the parents of the bride and of the bridegroom. Among rich Tatars it often amounts to 1,000 roubles. Only one half of the sum is claimed by the parents of the bride, the other half being spent on her trousseau. Polygamy is practised by the well-to-do only, and is a declining institution. Birth and death customs are almost identical with those of all other settled Moslems. The festivals of Kurban, Bairam, and Ramazan Bairam are celebrated in the same way as in Bokhara and Stamboul.

Literature. The literature is chiefly religious, as among other Turks, theology together with Persian and Arabic being the main subject of study. There is, however, some popular poetry which expresses the national spirit better, and contains less of the foreign element than Osmanli literature does.

Religion. The Volga Turks are all Mohammedans excepting about 28,000 Christians, or Keresh as they call themselves, the descendants of those Tatars who were forcibly converted by Ivan the Terrible in the sixteenth century. Religion, with these Turks, is the most powerful of the motives by which they are swayed. They are more like the orthodox Central Asians in their religious zeal than the Mohammedans of Turkey and Arabia. When in 1556 Ivan the Terrible captured Kazan, even the harshest measures employed by him could not shake the attachment of these Tatars to Islam. Till the end of the sixteenth century no mosques were tolerated in Kazan, and the Tatars were compelled to live in a separate quarter. But the predominance of the Moslems gradually prevailed, so that in the second half of the eighteenth century there were as many as 250 mosques in the Government of Kazan. A Ukase of tolerance promulgated in 1773 helped the cause of Islam among these Turks. Far from being won by Russian tolerance, the Moslems of the Volga have in modern times become more closely united than ever with the Mohammedan world. At the present day the Kazan Mollahs are trained not only in Bokhara but in Constantinople, Cairo, and (till recently) Medina. There has been a rapid increase in the number of mosques, and a steady improvement in the status of Moslem schools in the Government of Kazan. Between 1781 and 1868 the number of mosques rose from 250 to 729. In the latter

year there was one mosque to every 310 men, and one school to every 119 boys. These schools have not been affected in the least by the Russian educational system.

Education. The education in the Moslem schools has been a religious one only. Arabic and Persian being the chief languages, the study of the mother-tongue has been quite neglected, as among the Uzbeks and (till lately) among the Osmanlis, and Russian is not taught at all, though the Tatar learns to speak it otherwise. In consequence of the attention paid to education, the percentage of Kazan Turks who cannot read and write is extremely low. The production of printed books has also been considerable among these Moslems. Thus in the period 1802 (when an Oriental press was established at Kazan) to 1885, more than 1,000,000 copies of Oriental works, almost restricted to theology, were issued at Kazan. Some of these even reached Central Asia, and India. Thus, during a period of 360 years of Russian rule, the Asiatic conservatism of these Kazan Moslems has in no way been weakened or influenced by Russian culture. Every reform introduced by the Russian Government has only stimulated the Tatars' zeal for their own religious learning. Hence no conversion except among their ruling families takes place, and only the quite uneducated element is liable to be absorbed in the Russian population. On the other hand, the Mollahs seem to have more success among the Keresh or Christian Tatars than the Orthodox Russian missionary has among the Moslems. In fact, the Keresh have remained, both in certain customs and still more in language, more Tatar than the Moslems themselves; for they intermarry much oftener with the neighbouring Christian Chuvashes, Cheremisses, Votyaks, and Mordvins than with Russians, and are on the other hand less exposed to the foreign Arabic-Persian influence than the Moslems. Turkish national modes of thought and life have thus been better preserved among the Kazan Turks than among those of the west, Azarbaijans and Osmanlis; and in spite of a settled life of centuries under Russian sovereignty, there is no prospect of their absorption by the ruling race. What has here been said of the Kazan Tatars applies to the Volga Turks in general. Kazan was their educational centre both before and after the Russian occupation in 1556. Even now in national, religious, and intellectual matters Kazan takes the lead, because all the

Tatars on the Volga, from above Kazan down to its mouths, always identify their interests with those of their principal city.

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2. *The Bashkirs*

Habitat. The Bashkirs inhabit the south-eastern part of European Russia, the region of the governments of Vyakta, Perm, Ufa, Samara, and Orenburg, between the Kama and Middle Volga on the west and the Ural range on the east. They extend farther north than any other member of the Turkish race in Europe, forming an intermediate population between the genuine Turks and the Ugrians.

Number. The Bashkir population at the beginning of the century numbered 757,300.⁸²

Race. The Bashkirs are commonly regarded as Turkified Ugrians; but racial, linguistic, and historical evidence appears decidedly to favour the view of Vambéry that in this people, which is a mixture of Turk and Ugrian, the fundamental nationality is Turkish, which, mingling with the neighbouring Ostyaks and Voguls, has adopted many racial peculiarities from these, but without changing their national Turkish idiom, much in the same way as the Magyars have retained their language.

Character. There is a difference of type between the Bashkirs living in the valleys of the Ural range and the inhabitant of the steppes. The latter has a more pronounced Turkish appearance. He is of medium height, with a large head, broad, flat face, low nose, and prominent chin. His kinsman in the forest regions has a long face, a convex profile, a prominent nose, and higher stature, resembling rather the Caucasian Asiatic. It has been observed that the Bashkirs on the whole can hardly be distinguished from the Turks of Kazan, Astrakhan, and the Crimea. They are predominantly black-haired, black-eyed, and brachycephalic.

The general character of the Bashkirs shows both the good and the bad qualities which distinguish most Turks who have

only recently exchanged a primitive nomad existence for a settled or half-settled manner of life. Hospitality is one of the traits which they have preserved from earlier times. On the other hand, the Bashkir suffers from excessive indolence, the habit of brooding for hours on end and indulging in absolute inactivity, from which even pressing necessity cannot arouse him. In spite of the general impoverishment from which he consequently suffers, one of his characteristics is cheerfulness, or rather levity, in which he resembles the Kirghiz, though without the cunning of the latter. Among the crimes which he commits horse-stealing is the chief. He is not particularly revengeful or intriguing. On the whole he has been a peaceful and submissive subject under Russian rule.

Manner of Life. Inasmuch as the Bashkirs, like the Tatars of Kazan, the Nogaians, the Kirghiz, and the Central Asiatics, are dominated by Moslem civilization, they naturally do not differ greatly in manner of life from the neighbouring Russian Turks and the Kirghiz. The exterior of their houses resembles that of their Tatar neighbours, contrasting with the latter chiefly in their poverty-stricken and ruinous appearance. The interior arrangements are, however, more like those of the Kirghiz tent than of the Kazan house. In dress the Bashkirs differ little from the Tatars and Kirghiz. Their food is strikingly similar in material, form, and nomenclature to that still prevailing among the Kirghiz and in Central Asia. The fact that *airan* (buttermilk) and *kumiss* (fermented mare's milk) are their favourite drinks is an indication that no great length of time has elapsed since the Bashkirs gave up a regular nomadic life, for those beverages have long disappeared among the Uzbeks, the Tatars of Kazan and the Crimea, and the still half-nomadic Yürüks of Anatolia. In family life the Bashkirs follow the usages of the Turks of Kazan, to whose standard of civilization they conform in general. Marriages are contracted after the *kalim* has been fixed, the amount ranging from 3,000 roubles among the rich to a load of wood or hay among the poorest. Although the betrothal often takes place in early childhood, marriage is seldom consummated before the age of eighteen in the case of men and sixteen in the case of women. The wedding ceremonies resemble those of nomadic rather than settled Turks. In the amusements of the Bashkirs, music, song, and dance play an important part. Their

dancing resembles that of the Chuvashes as well as of the Magyars.

Religion. The Bashkirs probably adopted Mohammedanism at an early period, but their adherence to Islam is lax, like that of regular Turkish nomads. The veiling of women is not required among them. Nor do they strictly observe the prescriptions of Islam regarding ablutions and food, and they are by no means averse to the use of *vodka*. The Mollahs have, however, exercised a beneficial influence in the matter of education. The number of schools is very considerable, and the proportion of those who can read and write is consequently remarkably high. Teaching is, however, restricted to the study of the Kuran, all secular subjects being excluded. Every attempt to transform the schools into centres of general education and culture according to the European model has hitherto failed.

Literature. In literary matters the Bashkirs are far behind the Turks of Kazan. With the exception of some school-books, which are rather written in the dialect of Kazan, the literature of the Bashkirs consists exclusively of popular poetry, mostly songs of four stanzas, dealing with love, chivalry, and attachment to home. Here the national Bashkir spirit coupled with the use of national imagery prevails, rather than the conventional style and the gloomy broodings of Persian-Arabic poetry.

Occupations. The force of circumstances has transformed the Bashkirs from nomads into a settled people, who to some extent are still semi-nomads. Their migratory instinct now no longer goes beyond exchanging their fixed winter dwellings for other abodes during the summer months, as is usual among all settled Turks. Their favourite pursuits are wood-cutting, carting, bee-keeping, hunting, training falcons, fishing. They also work as labourers in mines. But their nomadic nature has so little adapted itself to agriculture that they are among the most sluggish and inefficient cultivators of the soil, inferior even to the Uzbeks of Central Asia, and much more so to their neighbours the Chuvashes. Though often possessing enough arable land to render other peasants prosperous, Bashkirs lapse into poverty. Cattle-breeding would be more to their taste, but the wide pastures that would appeal to them are lacking; so they do not thrive even in this direction.

There has consequently been going on among them a general impoverishment, which will probably lead to their ultimate absorption in the surrounding Russian population.

Language. The language of the Bashkirs appears to be one which, since the separate existence of this people, has had the character of an independent dialect, and which is one of the links in the Turkish linguistic chain extending from the upper Irtysh to the middle Volga. One point in which this dialect differs from the rest is a slight influence exercised upon it by the Ugrian language, both in vocabulary and phonetics (as the change of *s* to *h*, e.g. Turkish *söz* 'word', Bashkir *höz*).

History. The earliest information we have of the Bashkirs is derived from Ibn Fozlan, who gives an account of the journey which he made in A. D. 925 as an envoy of the Khalif Muktedir Billah to Bolgari on the Volga. On his way thither he passed, on the lower course of the Ural, the steppe inhabited by the Bashkirs, of whom he says: 'We reached the land of a Turkish people called Bashkird, against whom we were particularly on our guard, for this is the worst of all Turkish peoples, being distinguished as the most violent and daring of them in fight.' In describing their faith he speaks of the wooden idols to which the Bashkirs turn when in distress, though they have twelve special deities, those of earth, summer and winter, rain and wind, trees, men and foals, water, night and day, death and life. In these we may recognize the tutelary spirits of the Altaians and the Chuvashes. This shows that there was in the tenth century, east of the Volga, a Turkish people called Bashkirs, who lived in the immediate neighbourhood of their present home, and who have, unlike so many other kindred peoples, preserved their ethnic identity for a thousand years. That they were once exclusively nomads is shown by the fact that at the beginning of the thirteenth century they joined the Mongol hordes of Jenghiz Khan, and were for their services rewarded with a seal and flag, the usual emblems of national independence. The Franciscan friar Rubruquis narrates how, in 1253, after a journey of twelve days from the Volga, he reached the Bashkirs on the Yaik (Ural). These people were throughout herdsmen, who had no towns or forts, and who preferred the region of the steppes to the mountains for their dwelling-place. In the middle of the sixteenth century they came under the Russian rule of Ivan

the Terrible. In 1773 they assisted Katharine II to quell a revolt, and even fought for Russia, under a special military organization, against Sweden, Poland, and Turkey. There is evidence that even in the eighteenth century the habitat of the Bashkirs extended much farther south. It is recorded that about 1700 they lived on the lower course of the Yaik (Ural), and that their pastures extended up to the Ural range; that whole districts of the Kirghiz steppe of to-day had formerly been abandoned by the Bashkirs; and that about 1800 the Bashkirs wandered on the plateaus between the Emba and the Ural mountains. In 1798 the Russian Government, turning to account the warlike spirit which still manifested itself among the Bashkirs, formed out of them an irregular cavalry force, armed with bows and lances, to guard the frontier along the Ural river against the Kirghiz. In 1812 Bashkirs fought against Napoleon in the 30th Cossack regiment. The frontier guard was disbanded in 1814; but in 1876 a new regiment of Bashkirs armed with rifles was established.

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3. Astrakhan Turks and Kundurs

Habitat. There are, besides, two small groups of Turks who live at the mouth of the Volga. One of these are the Astrakhan Tatars, numbering about 10,000 souls, who, along with the Mongol Kalmuks (p. 110), are all that is left of the once powerful Astrakhan Empire. Their occupations are agriculture and gardening.

The other group are the Kundurs, who number about 12,000 and call themselves Kara-agach ('black-tree'). They separated from the Nogaians of the Great Horde in the middle of the thirteenth century, and when the Kalmuks in 1771 completely abandoned the territory of the lower Volga, on their return to the Ili valley (p. 113), they settled in the delta of the Volga, on the banks of the rivers Ak-töbe and Bereket, in the neighbourhood of the towns of Seitovka and Khoshoutovka.

Mode of Life. Here, in the vicinity of one of the Kirghiz hordes and of the Kalmuks, they lead a half-nomadic existence, passing the winter in the towns just mentioned, but wandering

during the rest of the year on the left bank of the Aktöbe river. Their features display a strikingly Kalmuk type. In constructing their tents they give them an oblong shape rather than the circular form usual among other Turkish nomads. In their dirtiness and extraordinary indolence they resemble the Kalmuks rather than the Nogaians.

Language. It is only in language and in a certain number of customs that they retain traits of their Turkish origin. Their language is related to the Nogaian, and not to the Turkish spoken in the Caucasus and in Persia. The influence of the latter country is shown by the fact that the Kundurs still belong to the Shiite sect of Islam. In 1771 they submitted to Russian rule. In 1785 they were placed under the administration of the Krasnoyarsk district of Astrakhan, when summer and winter quarters on the Volga were assigned to them.

Divisions. The Kundurs are divided into two branches, each of which consists of several clans. It is somewhat strange that this section of the Turks should, in spite of their association with Kalmuks and Kirghiz, have been transformed from regular nomads into semi-nomads of a restricted type within the comparatively short period of a hundred years.

Food and Drink. In the matter of food the Kundurs resemble nomads rather than a settled population, for they live chiefly on meat and different forms of milk. They drink *kumiss*, and above all brick tea, which they seem to have become acquainted with through the Kalmuks.

Cost of Living. The struggle for existence is a hard one for the dwellers in the Astrakhan steppe. Sixty years ago an income of at least 135 roubles was necessary to support a family of two persons: to obtain this the Kundur had to sell one camel, two horses, one bull, two cows, five sheep, and five goats.

Marriage Customs. Marriage is based, as everywhere among the Turks, on the *kalim*, which varies from 50 to 1,000 roubles. To counterbalance this the bride brings with her to her future home certain articles of furniture, a tent, a pair of oxen, and other valuables. The bride is conducted home with the same ceremonies as prevail among the Crimean Tatars and Nogaians. The Kundurs resemble the latter also in their chief amusement, dancing, which has ceased to exist among the neighbouring Turks, the Kirghiz.

Religion. In religion the Kundurs are Mohammedans who have maintained their adherence to the Shiite sect in the midst of a purely Sunnite population. The continuance among them of this sect in the neighbourhood of the fanatical Volga Turks is probably due to that lukewarmness in matters of religion which is characteristic of nomads and semi-nomads.

Race. We have seen that the Kundurs are ethnically a branch of the Nogaians, but linguistically they are clearly less closely allied to the Nogaians than to the Kazak-Kirghiz. Now, the recurrence of several of the Kundur clan names among the Kazak-Kirghiz shows that they, and consequently also the Nogaians, once formed part of the Kazak nation. Though treated here as Volga Turks because of their geographical position, the Kundurs belong to the division of Black Sea Turks under which the Nogaians are treated below (pp. 194-7).

BIBLIOGRAPHY.—Vambéry, *Das Türkenvolk*, pp. 443, 552-7.

4. *Chuvashes*

Race. Though this people has already been mentioned above (p. 50) as a branch of the Volga group of the Eastern Finns, Vambéry⁸³ may be right in regarding them as fundamentally a section of the Turkish race which has been modified by the influence of their Finnish neighbours, the Cheremisses. His theory is based on both the physical characteristics and the language of the Chuvashes. On neither ground does he appear to be convincing. He describes them as of medium size, with a clumsy gait, a predominantly dark brown complexion, somewhat prominent cheek-bones, brown or black eyes, narrow forehead, and black hair. In the women, he says, the narrowness of the eye and the prominence of the cheek-bones are more marked, while the complexion is much fairer than that of the Tatars. This account does not altogether agree with that of other observers, and it is in any case doubtful whether the evidence of physique favours a Turkish rather than a Finnish origin in the case of this mixed people. The linguistic evidence seems to be no more decisive. For though the Chuvashes speak a Turkish language, it is to be noted that while two Turkish peoples living so far apart as the Anatolians and the inhabitants of East Turkestan

can understand each other, the most accomplished Turkish scholar can make out a Chuvash text only after an intimate study of the accidence and phonetics of the language. Still less does the mode of life followed by this people from very early times support the Turkish theory. The Chuvashes have been strictly settled perhaps longer than any distinctively Turkish population, having early become the eminently agricultural people they are known to be at the present time. Such a past is by no means in keeping with the character of the Turks, who have always shown a reluctance to abandon their original nomadism.

Character. Their industry has helped them to prosperity, and poverty is seldom to be met with in their settlements. The Chuvash is distinguished for his kindness to his family, and he honours and regards his wife far more than the Russian or the Tatar does.

Customs. A few points in the customs of the Chuvashes may be added. Marriages are not arranged by the parents, but the bride is chosen by the young man himself. The practice here prevails, as among the Turks, of paying a *kalim*, which rises to the limit of 200 roubles. This is, however, occasionally evaded when the youth has not sufficient means. Then, with the consent of his parents, and in collusion with the bride, he captures the latter, and carries her off to his house, later on paying a *kalim* proportionate to his means. When a man dies his body is dressed in his best clothes and interred with the things which he used most during life, such as tobacco, beer, and, according to his occupation, an axe, a musical instrument, or other object. A dead woman, on the other hand, is supplied with needle, thread, flax, linen, and other articles.

History. Some further details about the Chuvashes may here be supplied. Their name first appears in the Russian annals in the year 1524. Some more information about them has come down in connexion with the foundation of various towns in the sixteenth century. They suffered many centuries of subjection to Bulgars, Mongols, and Tatars successively till 1743, when they came under Russian rule and began to adopt Christianity. They have long been among the most peaceable and submissive subjects of the Russian Empire.

Religion. In religion the Chuvashes are chiefly nominal

Christians, but also partly Moslems and partly still adherents of their old pagan faith. No definite data are available as to the local and numerical distribution of these forms of belief; but it may be said in general that the majority of the professed Christians live in the Government of Kazan on the right bank of the Volga, while on the left bank, in various districts of the Government of Samara, Ufa, and Orenburg, many Mohammedans are interspersed, and in the districts of Sizran, Kuznetsk, and Petrovsk the heathen population predominates. The Chuvash easily identifies Christian saints with his old pagan gods, mainly owing to the extensive use of images in the Russian Church; while among those who are Mohammedans almost every reminiscence of their ancient faith has disappeared, in consequence of the strict monotheism and intolerance of idolatry characteristic of Islam. The surviving form of the old religion of the Chuvashes is a modified kind of Shamanism, improved and widened by Christian and Mohammedan influence.

BIBLIOGRAPHY.—Vambéry, *Das Türkenvolk*, pp. 444-95 (where a full account of the language and religion of the Chuvashes is given).

5, 6. *Meshchers and Tepters*

In this connexion may be mentioned two small peoples living in the Governments of Kazan, Ufa, Perm, Penza, and Saratov, numbering, according to Vambéry's estimate in 1885, 140,000 and 130,000 respectively. They are unmistakably Ugrians in origin, but have been mixed with Turks, the majority speaking a Turkish language and having adopted Turkish customs.

Meshchers. The Meshchers of Penza and Kazan have been completely Russianized in language, customs, and religion. They are almost exclusively agriculturists. The more numerous fraction of the Meshchers, who are Mohammedans, at the present day live in the midst of the Bashkirs, and are said to differ as little in their customs and their mode of life from their Turkish neighbours as the Christian Meshchers do from the Russians. They compare favourably with the Bashkirs in their greater cleanliness and prosperity. They are industrious and skilled tillers of the soil. Their physiognomy shows clearly that they are not Turks, for the majority of them have oval faces, fair hair, and light blue eyes.

Tepters. The Tepters are widely scattered in the Governments of Orenburg, Ufa, Vyatka, and Perm, mostly in regions that were formerly occupied by the Bashkirs. They do not show any distinct type, for they are the result of a mixture of Turks with various East Finnish tribes, such as the Mordvins, Chuvashes, Votyaks, and Cheremisses, who, after the destruction of Kazan in the sixteenth century, fled to the Urals, and there formed a racial amalgam the elements of which are not easy to distinguish.

The Tepters are divided into Moslems and pagans, there being also a few Christians who have been converted in recent times. Though they have long been settled, they are among the laziest and most unskilful cultivators of the soil, and in consequence miserably poor, as far at least as the Moslem section is concerned. The pagan Tepters, however, being comparatively good and industrious agriculturists, seldom suffer from poverty. The religion of the heathen Tepters shows traces of a cult similar to that of the Chuvashes. They believe in a supreme being who lives in heaven and to whose power the evil spirits are subject. To the latter they attribute all the diseases and all the misfortunes that befall mankind. Believing that man continues to live after death, they supply the deceased with a switch to drive off the dogs that endeavour to devour him in the next world. Their religious ceremonies consist in sacrifices which they offer to the evil spirits (called *keremet*) once a year. It is to be noted that marriage by capture is in vogue among them even when they are not driven to this practice by the lack of a *kalim*.⁸⁴

It is interesting to note that there was formerly a small Moslem population (probably now extinct) living among the Votyaks and called Besarmen, a corruption of the Turkish Busurman for Musurman, Musulman. Besarmen or Basarman was also corrupted to Basarban, a name applied about 1100 to Moslem Turks living in Moldavia. This region consequently came to be called Basarbania or Bessarabia.

iv. *Black Sea Turks*

a. *The Nogaïans*

Habitat. The Nogaïans at the present day inhabit the Government of Stavropol, extending southward of the Kuma to the territory of the Terek Cossacks and to Daghestan. At

one time they preferred to wander in the steppes to the north and north-east of the Caspian ; and there is no doubt that even in earlier centuries they lived in the low country on the right bank of the Volga down to the Sea of Azov.

Name. Their designation is not an ethnic but a political one, being derived from Nogai, the name of a great-grandson of Jenghiz Khan, who in 1259 distinguished himself in the army sent out to devastate Poland. It was transferred to that part of the Golden Horde which fell to his share, just as Seljuk, Osman, and Uzbeg were to the hordes subject to those leaders. It was thus adopted by numerous Turkish tribes extending from the Irtysh to the Crimea, and came to be given as a collective term to all the Turks on the Black Sea, the Caspian, and the Volga.⁸⁵ In history, too, from the thirteenth century onwards down to modern times, the Nogaians are constantly mentioned in this sense as in alliance with Russians and Byzantians, or fighting among themselves, or in conflict with various neighbours, such as the Circassians, Kirghiz, Bashkirs, Kalmuks, always present, but nowhere at home. The Nogaians have, of all Turkish peoples, suffered most from the blows of fortune to which warlike nomads have always been exposed.⁸⁶ They have in course of time been scattered and broken, not only by the neighbouring nomads, but by the advancing power of the Russians.

Migrations. The Nogaians seem often to have shifted their habitat in bygone times, and it is impossible to determine the exact territory occupied by them in former centuries. But it is historically certain that they were located to the west of the Sea of Azov and the north of the Crimea in the beginning of the fifteenth century. We also know that a fraction of this people, who in the beginning of the seventeenth century were found on the middle Yemba, were driven westward by the Kalmuks, and were transplanted by Peter the Great to their kinsmen in the steppe on the Kuma and the Kuban.

Hordes. In the eighteenth century the following five hordes of the Nogaians were to be distinguished: the horde on the Sea of Azov between the Don and the Kuban; the Crimean horde; the Astrakhan horde, which was greatly diminished by migration to the Caucasus, the Crimea, and the territory of the Bashkirs; the Kasai and the Noruz tribes on the Kuban, and especially the Laba; and lastly, on the Aktöbe (Akhtuba)

river, a branch of the Volga, the Kundurs, who have already been described among the Volga Turks (pp. 189-91).

Number. The great bulk of the Nogaians live in the Government of Stavropol, where there are about 85,000; over 8,000 are to be found in the territory of the Terek, and nearly 2,000 in Daghestan. There are also a few thousands in Taurida, the southernmost government of Russia (north of the Black Sea). The total number of the Nogaians therefore amounts to about 100,000.⁸⁷

Characteristics. In spite of their contact with so many kindred and foreign elements, such as Bashkirs, Kalmuks, Caucasians, Russians, Poles, Rumanians, and Hungarians, the portion of the Nogaians who have remained faithful to their old nomad life, the so-called Kara-Nogaians, have preserved a comparatively purer Turkish type of physique than many of their kinsmen. They have a thick-set figure, with a large head, small eyes, and scanty beard, strongly reminiscent of the original Turkish type. The settled or half-settled population, however, which has been strongly intermingled with Caucasians, approximates in many points to the type of the latter.

The Nogaians have few vices and many merits. They are law-abiding, and submissive to authority. Robbery and murder are practically unknown, though cattle-stealing is pretty frequent. They are temperate and less given to drinking brandy than their kinsmen on the middle Volga and in the Crimea. The Nogaian is strikingly quiet and silent, a prototype of the old Turkish virtue of gravity.

Occupations. The Nogaians are no longer anywhere inveterate nomads like the Kirghiz and Turkmens. But they still have a predilection for cattle-breeding; their dwellings are either miserable clay huts or tents of felt; and they prefer meat as food. *Airan* (buttermilk), *kumiss*, and the various kinds of cheese are just as popular with them as with the steppe-dwellers to the east of the Caspian. Brick tea, which is unknown to the Turkmens and the other western Turks, is as much a necessity to the Kara-Nogaians as bread is to a European. They must have become acquainted with it through their contact with the Kalmuks, of whom, as well as of other Mongols and of the Kirghiz, it is a favourite drink.

Dress. The dress of the men shows the strong influence of

the neighbouring Caucasus, but the costume of the women resembles rather that of the Kazan and Volga Tatars.

Customs. Little that is characteristic remains in the customs of the Nogaians. The bride is conveyed to her new home in a wagon, on which, in the case of rich girls, a bridal tent is set up. The Nogaians take their wives chiefly from the settled Tatars of the Crimea. The *kalim* is thirty cows or less. The wife is treated like a slave, and enjoys none of the privileges that are accorded to her among the Turkmens and the Kirghiz. Polygamy is said to prevail pretty widely among them. The birth and death customs show not the slightest trace of old nomad usages. Yet the account given by the traveller Tavernier of the Nogaians shows that at the end of the seventeenth century they were more typical of Turkish nomadism than the Kirghiz and the Turkmens are to-day.

Religion. In religious matters the Nogaians are more closely connected with the nomad than with the settled or half-settled Turks. They are nominally Sunnite Moslems, but they are lax in their beliefs. Little influence has been exercised on them by the Mohammedans of Kazan, whom they are inclined to despise. They look rather to the Mollahs from the Turkmen steppes, and especially those from Khiva and Bokhara, who are highly respected by them.

BIBLIOGRAPHY.—Vambéry, *Das Türkenvolk*, pp. 543-51.

b. *The Caucasian Turks*

A group in the Black Sea Turks is formed by those inhabiting Cis-Caucasia, who came from the north and are Sunnites, and those of Trans-Caucasia, who came from the south and are Shiites. Their total number is 1,879,908 according to the Russian census of 1897.

1. *The Kumuks* inhabit the region of the north-eastern Caucasus along the western coast of the Caspian from Shamkhal-yangi-yurt to Yemikent in the Government of Daghestan. One part of them lives in the valleys of the mountainous country to the south, while another section occupies the sandy plains between the Terek, its southern tributary the Sunsha, and the Sulak. They may have been in possession of this territory since the eighth century, for Derbend even at that

time formed the boundary between the Aryans and the Turks in the Caucasus.

Race. They would thus be the descendants of the Turks who wandered on the steppe and the plains extending from the right bank of the Volga to the Don and the Dnieper. In any case, a fraction of the Kumuks, called Nogai Kumuks, are directly descended from the Nogaiaans. Under the pressure of the Russians a section of the Nogaiaans retired to the territory next to the Kumuks on the left bank of the Terek, where they are still known under the name of the Kara-Nogais. The main stock of the Kumuks were thus Turks who in very early times migrated from the north into the region still occupied by them, and formed the nucleus around which, in the course of centuries, other stray Turkish fragments gathered. This group formed, till the Turkification of Eastern Transcaucasia, the ethnic frontier between Turks and Iranians. After the Mongol invasion, when the stream of Turks began to flow from the south, the chain connecting the Turks north and south of the Caucasus was geographically established. But the racial bond that might otherwise have united Kumuks and Azarbaijans has never done so, because they have always been separated by difference of sect as well as of manners and customs. The Azarbaijans, owing to the cultural influences to which they have been subject, have always belonged to Iran; while the Kumuks, as immediate neighbours of the Caucasian mountaineers, have from early times followed the Caucasians in their manner of life.

Number. According to the Russian census of 1897 the total number of the Kumuks was 100,838, a figure which, after the lapse of twenty years, must be considerably exceeded at the present time. The proportion of the population of Daghestan to that of the Terek region is as two to one.

Characteristics. In physique the Kumuk shows hardly any trace of the genuine Turkish type, far less than do his kinsmen on the Kura and the left bank of the Terek. In manners and customs this is still more the case. They are described as on the whole an industrious and peaceable people.

Mode of Life. Having been settled for centuries, the Kumuks maintain themselves by rearing live stock (especially sheep), agriculture, bee-keeping, and fishing. The men also engage in the industry of making weapons, the women in that of silver

and gold embroidery. In dress the Kumuks differ little from the neighbouring people of Daghestan.

Religion. The Kumuks are Sunnite Moslems, like all Cis-Caucasian Mohammedans. Having adopted Islam at a very early period, they even in the Middle Ages played the part of missionaries and civilizers among the heathen mountaineers. They consequently exercised a strong influence on their neighbours, many of whom adopted their language and customs, just as the Azarbaijans who penetrated into the Caucasus from the south converted the Iranian population to Islam and gradually imposed on it their Turkish language.

History. After their conquest by the Russians in 1559, the Kumuks liberated themselves in 1604, but submitted to Peter the Great in 1722, when he made his expedition to Persia. Since then they have been subject to Russian rule.

2. The *Karachai* tribe of Turks inhabit the territory of the head waters of the Kuban at the western foot of Mount Elbruz.

Language. Although surrounded by Circassians, they have preserved down to the present day their Turkish language, which resembles that of the Codex Cumanus of 1303, and has dialectic peculiarities showing that the Karachais came neither from the east nor the south, but from the north, that is, from the Kuma steppe.

Characteristics. In appearance the Karachais are as un-Turkish as the Osmanlis and the Azarbaijans, being well-built, with large black eyes and fair complexion. They are regarded as the handsomest of the Caucasians.

Occupations and Customs. The occupations and customs of the Karachais, as may be inferred from the Alpine character of their home, are totally different from those of their kinsmen in the north and the south. Living chiefly by agriculture and also to a considerable extent by domestic industries, they have long lost the warlike habits of their nomad ancestors. Traces of old Turkish practices, however, survive in their love of horseflesh, their addiction to beer-drinking (in which they resemble the Chuvashes of to-day and all the Black Sea Turks of former times), and in some specifically Turkish superstitions.

Number. According to the Russian census the number of the Karachais in 1897 was 27,222. As according to the latest statistics available in 1885 Vambéry^{ss} estimates their popula-

tion at 19,800, it is likely at the present day to number nearly 40,000.

3. On the lower course of the Kuma there is a tribe of nomads called by the Russians *Truchmen*, which is merely a corruption of Turkmen. They are undoubtedly a branch of the Turkmens, as is clear from the dialectic character of their language. The time when they separated from their kinsmen on the east side of the Caspian is not known, but it cannot be long ago, since they would otherwise hardly have been able to maintain their ethnic individuality. Their number according to the Russian census was 24,522 in 1897.⁸⁹ It has probably risen to between 30,000 and 40,000 at the present time.

4. There are various Turkish tribes in Transcaucasia, distributed in the provinces of Kutais, Batum, Tiflis, Elizavetpol, Baku, Daghestan, Erivan, and Kars. They inhabit partly the mountains and partly the steppes, especially those around the Kura river. They are most numerous in the governments of Elizavetpol, Baku, and Erivan. These Turks first penetrated into the Caucasus on the occasion of the Seljuk invasions, about A. D. 1200, from Azarbaijan. Other migrations of these Turks into Transcaucasia took place much later, in the sixteenth and even the eighteenth centuries.

In physique there is little difference between these Turks and their Caucasian brethren. But though they have for a century and a half been under Russian rule, they have not in the slightest degree changed in religion, customs, and usages. In spite of being most fervent Shiites, they are on very good terms with the Caucasian Sunnites and with their Russian neighbours. Polygamy is rare with them, and their women go unveiled to work. These Tatars are noted for their excellence as gardeners, agriculturists, cattle-tenders, and artisans.

The total number of Turco-Tatars (that is, Turks) in Caucasia was in 1897, according to the Russian census, 1,879,908.⁹⁰ After the deduction from this aggregate of the figures for the Nogaians, Turkmens, Karachais, and Kumuks, there remain about 1,665,000 Turks for Transcaucasia.⁹¹ After the lapse of twenty years the Turkish population of the whole of Caucasia must now amount to well over 2,000,000.⁹²

c. *The Crimean Turks*

Habitat. The plains and valleys of the Crimean Peninsula have been occupied for at least seven centuries by Turkish tribes that migrated thither from the steppe country which extends from the east of the Sea of Azov to the Dnieper, a region long occupied by Turkish peoples.

Number. In 1793 the number of the Crimean Tatars was estimated at 159,125; but the emigrations into the Ottoman Empire, which were resumed in the first years of the twentieth century, have reduced their population to about one-half of what it was at the end of the eighteenth century. At the present day it cannot amount to more than 80,000.⁹³

Characteristics. Three types may be distinguished in the Turkish population of the Crimea. The Tatars inhabiting the northern plains have preserved the original Turkish physique. These steppe-dwellers are of medium height and strong build, with a dark yellow complexion, prominent cheek-bones, dark eyes, narrow and oblique, broad nostrils, large ears, black hair, and very scanty beard. The Tatars inhabiting the northern slopes and the valleys of the Crimean mountains differ essentially from those in the plains. They are tall, sinewy, and slender. Their complexion approaches in fairness that of the Caucasians. They have large dark eyes, and thick black hair and beards. They are on the whole a handsome race. The littoral Tatars, again, are probably a mixture of Turks, who early penetrated into the peninsula, with Greeks, Romans, and later with enslaved Circassians, Poles, Rumanians, Germans, and Magyars. Being the result of the most complex imaginable fusion of different elements, this class of the Crimean Turks has been divested of almost every vestige of its original type. They are tall and strongly built, with tanned oval faces, fine sparkling eyes, glossy black hair, and long noses of Greek or Roman mould. Among the mountain and littoral Tatars, women of a perfectly ideal type of beauty are often to be seen; but in consequence of early marriages and the hard work to which they are subjected, they soon grow prematurely old.

Name. 'Crimean Tatars' is a political rather than an ethnic name, given by Europeans to this fraction of the Turks after the Crimea as an independent state entered into intercourse

with the neighbouring Christian powers. *Krim*, the name of the peninsula, is a Turkish word.

Dwellings. The houses of the Crimean Tatars are built of brick in the plains, and of stone in the mountains. They commonly have a terrace on the top, used chiefly for purposes of social entertainment. The interior of the house is divided into three parts: kitchen, reception-room, and harem. A striking feature is the hexagonal or octagonal stove with a dome-shaped top. A regular feature are also the gaudily coloured chests, which are found, from the Volga region to the interior of Anatolia, as articles of furniture among the settled Turks, as well as among the Magyars. As a general rule, the houses of the Crimean Tatars are distinguished by their orderly and cleanly appearance. The house stands in a courtyard surrounded by a stone wall or a fence (coated on the outside with clay), within a part of which the cattle are confined at night, in order that the dung, which is used for fuel, may more easily be utilized. Stalls are rare, as the cattle are commonly left in the open air, even during the winter.

Dress. The dress of the Crimean Tatars differs only slightly from that of the Anatolians, the costume of the women being much the same as that of the men. The women contrast with the girls only in their head-gear. They wear a turban, with their hair divided and hanging down on both sides. The girls, on the other hand, wear a fez adorned with coins and other ornaments, while their hair in several plaits hangs down their backs and on their shoulders.

Food and Drink. The food and drink of the Crimean Turks resemble those of the Osmanlis rather than of their kinsmen in the north. They eat meat, especially in summer, only in small quantities, but all the more garden produce. Coffee, owing to their continuous intercourse with the Osmanlis, has long been a favourite drink among them. But spirituous liquors are little used, the steppe-dwellers even considering it a sin to cultivate a vineyard.

Occupations. Agriculture is the chief occupation of the Crimean Tatars. It is at its lowest level among them, partly owing to the climatic conditions, which expose them to frequent droughts, early frosts, and flights of locusts. Though the soil is very fertile, it requires irrigation, which has not been sufficiently supported by the Russian Government, as it formerly

was by the native Tatar rulers of the Crimea. This state of things has led to the rapid impoverishment of the Crimean Tatars under Russian domination. A contributory cause has been the natural laziness of the Tatar. Satisfied with little, these descendants of a once fiercely warlike people are given up to indolence, and sometimes prefer to starve rather than by a little work to improve the conditions of life. Hence horticulture, which might be made very profitable, is neglected by them. The same applies to cattle-breeding, though there is plenty of rich grazing-land. The number of cattle they keep is generally small, and large flocks of sheep numbering 2,000 are rare. These in spring are driven to the rich pasturage on the mountain heights. The same breed of dogs is here used to guard the sheep against wolves and thieves as in Hungary. The pastoral life of the Crimea has so many points of resemblance with that of the Magyars on the Hungarian steppes that both must have started from a common source at a time when the ancestors of the Crimean Tatars and the Magyars dwelt side by side.

Among the Crimean Tatars, as among the Magyars, the gipsies are the musicians and entertainers. The favourite instruments are the fiddle, the flute, and the drum. The singing, as with the Osmanli Turks, is slow and melancholy. The national dance, the performance of which is accompanied by the strains of the national melody, is described as unsurpassed in the gracefulness of its movements. It is restricted to men, because Islam forbids female dancing. Resembling the national dance of the Chuvashes and the Csárdás of the Magyars, it seems to have been common at one time to all Turks who extended from the north of the Caspian to the Danube, but to have been preserved in its purest form by the Magyars. The Crimean Tatars are roused to moods of merriment chiefly by the monotonous and melancholy national melodies played by the gipsies.

Marriage Customs. A Crimean Tatar, who seldom marries before thirty, can only procure a wife by payment of a *kalim*, which is negotiated with the father of the bride, whose wishes are little consulted in the matter. Even when the price demanded is exorbitant or the bridegroom has insufficient means, marriage by capture is seldom resorted to, because the father ultimately accommodates himself to the situation. The

marriage festivities here, as among other Turks, last for several days in the house of the bridegroom, who collects the wedding presents, which range in value from three to fifty roubles. It is an unheard-of thing to attend a wedding without presenting a gift.

Religion. The Crimean Tatars are Moslems, and have been so from very early times. Their devotion to Islam is, however, weak; but they adhere to its forms sufficiently to be proof against Christian propagandism. While among the Kazan Tatars one who cannot read or write is a rarity, in the Crimea whole villages are found in which, except the Mollah, no one can read, to say nothing of write, the Kuran. The status of the Mollah himself is low, because the Moslems of the Crimea are poor, and nine-tenths of the Mohammedan religious endowments have been diverted by the Russian Government. A religious revival was caused a generation ago by the establishment of a press at Bakhchisarai and of a Tatar paper which has had an increasing circulation.

History. The Crimean Tatars occupied the peninsula in the thirteenth century. They became tributary to the Ottoman Empire in 1478, but during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries formed an independent Khanate, which prospered till it fell under Turkish rule. They then suffered much from the wars fought between Turkey and Russia for the possession of the peninsula. In 1777 they became dependent on Russia, which finally, in 1783, annexed the whole of the Crimea. The Crimean War of 1854 and the Russian laws of 1860-3 and 1874 caused the Crimean Tatars to emigrate in large numbers into Turkey.

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v. *Western Turks*

This branch of the Turks comprises all those Turkish tribes which inhabit the territory of the Persian and the Turkish Empires.

a. *The Persian or Iranian Turks*

Habitat. The Iranian Turks in the widest sense include those of Transcaucasia, who have, however, been grouped

above as IV b, 4 (p. 200), because of their political position as inhabitants of Russian territory. Those of them that live in Persia proper are distributed in the following regions:

1. *Azərbayjan*, from the Araxes southward along the frontier of Kurdistan past Urmia towards Kirmanshah. Here the Turks are most numerous represented, being contiguous to their kinsmen in Transcaucasia, from whom they are only politically separated. They thus form the chief seat of the Turkish element in Persia.

2. *Khamseh*, the district between Azarbaijan and Tehran, especially in the neighbourhood of Zinjan.

3. The district of *Tehran*, in the immediate neighbourhood of the capital and in the valleys of Damavand.

4. *Kirman*: in the district bordering on Fars.

5. *Irak*: in the neighbourhood of Hamadan.

6. *Fars*: where they wander between the borders of Isfahan and the sea coast.

7. *Khorasan*: where they are most numerous around Nishapur and Kuchan.

Race. Racially and linguistically the Turks of Persia differ little from one another. They are descended from the Turks who under Seljuk came from the north of the Sea of Aral. That they are closely akin to the Turkmens is shown by the fact that several of their tribes, such as the Khoja-ali and Begdilli in Karabagh, the Kara in Kirman, the Bayat around Nishapur, as well as the Kenger in Transcaucasia, are identical in name with corresponding tribes among the Turkmens of Russian Turkestan. Other tribes are known to be of Turkmen origin, though their names have disappeared from among the Turkmens proper. Such are the Avshars, a very numerous tribe, near Urmia, who have become Shiites. Another such tribe are the Kajars, who formerly lived in the steppe bordering on Astarabad and are now scattered about in Persia; from them comes the present dynasty of the Shahs of Persia. Again, the Kashkai in Fars are known to have migrated to the south of Persia during the rule of the Il-khans.⁶⁴ Thus the Turks of Persia ethnically form a connecting link between the Turkmens proper and the Osmans.

Each of the tribes has its own chieftain, who is appointed by the Shah. In former centuries the clans seem to have lived in compact masses, and to have been confined to particular

localities ; but at the present day neither is the case. Only the large and powerful tribes attach importance to their descent ; while the small fragments are very much in the dark as to their origin. Tribes once forming numerous units are scattered across the wide territory extending from the Paropamisus to the Kurdistan mountains, and from the Caucasus to the Persian Gulf. Thus members of one and the same tribe may now be found in the Caucasus, in Khorasan, in Hamadan, and in Kirman.

The only exceptions are the following four tribes, which are less dispersed and partly occupy their old habitat.

1. The *Kajars*, the chiefs of whom constitute the present dynasty of the Shahs of Persia. They formerly dwelt on the borders of Syria, but in A.D. 1400 they were forced by Timur to migrate towards their old home in Turkestan ; on the way, however, they settled in Azarbaijan and Irak. Till the time of the Shah Abbas the Great (1585-1628) some of them also remained in Transcaucasia ; but that monarch forcibly settled them to the north of Astarabad and in the neighbourhood of Kuchan, for the twofold purpose of breaking their power and of making them a barrier against the predatory Turkmens.

2. The *Shahsevens* or 'adherents of the Shah', whose name is not an ethnic but a comparatively modern collective name of a tribe composed of various Turkish elements from Azarbaijan and the Caucasus. The bulk of them at the present day live in summer on the slopes of Mount Savelan near Ardebil, but in winter farther north in the Moghan steppe. Besides these a considerable fraction of the tribe is found within the Persian frontier, between Kum, Tehran, Kazvin, and Zinjan. They are, generally speaking, the most restless Turkish element in Persia, being still half or entirely nomadic.

3. The *Kashkais* and *Allahverdis* of the south, in the province of Fars, are with few exceptions nomads.⁹⁵ The name Kashkai is still found as a clan name among the Turkmens.

4. *Karakoyunlus*, in the neighbourhood of Khoi, are in all probability descendants of a Turkmen tribe against which Timur carried on a war of extermination all his life, but of which a considerable number have survived.

Number. The Iranian Turks number approximately 2,000,000, or rather more than one-fifth of the total population of Persia.

Characteristics. The Turks of Persia have been mixed with various Aryan peoples—Caucasians, Kurds, Armenians, Iranians—as the result of the importation of male and female slaves, which went on for centuries. A distinctively Turkish type can therefore not be looked for among them; but a marked mixed type, the basis of which has left genuine Turkish physical traces, is noticeable as soon as Azarbaijans are seen side by side with the relatively pure Persians of Shiraz. According to a close observer, the Iranian Turks compared with the Persians have a less oval skull, a broader and less expressive face, less arched brows, thicker eyelids, a shorter and broader nose, wider cheek-bones and chin, more fleshy lips, a taller and more massive and muscular figure.⁹⁶ The description of the Turks of Transcaucasia given by another authority⁹⁷ is similar. Vambéry,⁹⁸ who agrees with these accounts, adds that along the whole northern frontier of Persia the Turks in Azarbaijan and in Khorasan show far more traces of the national type than, for instance, the Kashkais in the south.

It is natural that a considerable change in customs must have been undergone by a people who, separated for more than eight centuries from the bulk of their kindred, have for so long lived in the midst of old Persian culture, and been strongly influenced by the religious bias of the Shiite sect. Hence the Iranian Turk appears polite and refined compared with his congeners in the north-east and the west. But his native Turkish awkwardness and frankness is still apparent when he is contrasted with the Southern Persian. This difference is still observable among the townsmen of Tabriz, Tehran, and Hamadan in spite of the immediate influence of these centres of Persian culture, while the population of the country districts shows still more evident traces of the Turkish national character, some of their customs being clearly reminiscent of those still prevailing among the Turkmens of the steppe.

This similarity extends to various usages of family life, such as certain benedictions, which are almost identical, birth and wedding ceremonies, and particularly the laws of hospitality, which the Iranian Turk observes much more conscientiously than the Persian. The word of the Turk, too, is much more to be depended on than that of the Iranian. He is also

decidedly superior in manly qualities. To these he owes his dominant position for centuries in Persia, where he represents the really warlike element, for the army of the Shah consists predominantly of Turks.

The affinity to the Turkmens is still more evident among the nomads. The very fact that single tribes, in spite of local difficulties and social pressure, have kept aloof from settled life sufficiently indicates the essentially Turkish character of these people. The chiefs alone are tinged with Persian culture, while the masses differ only in externals, but not in modes of thought or customs, from their kinsmen of the steppe. War and raids are the ideal of their life, and the monotony of their ordinary leisure, lasting often for months, is varied only by the care they bestow on their horses and their weapons. The maxims of Saadi, of Hafiz, and of other Persian poets are indeed often on their lips, but on their hearts are engraved the old Turkish saws which they follow as their standard of life and action. This tenacious devotion of the Turks to their traditional customs is a somewhat striking ethnological phenomenon. For there are few examples of a continuous and intensive contact between two heterogeneous racial elements in which the minority has been so little influenced by the majority as the Turks in Persia. Though bound together by a common faith and by political interest, they are still as mutually antagonistic as they were nearly three thousand years ago, in the days of Zoroaster. The Persian still sees in the Turk the type of barbarism and ugliness as delineated in the *Shahname*, while the Turk despises the Persian as a coward. Hence a well-organized propaganda might probably without great difficulty succeed in consolidating the Turkish population of Persia and in bringing about the incorporation of that country in an enlarged Asiatic Turkish Empire.

Manner of Life. In their mode of life the Iranian Turks are divided into two classes: the settled and the nomads or half-nomads. To the settled class belong those Turks of Azarbaijan, Khamseh, Tehran, Irak, and partly also Khorasan, who after the invasion of the Seljuks adopted the manner of life of the Iranian population, settled down in towns and villages, and devoted themselves to trade, industry, and agriculture. But it is to the latter occupation that they are chiefly addicted,

because they took to it by way of cattle-breeding, which was an element in their previous nomadism, whereas in trade and industry their Persian neighbours, with their greater aptitude for these pursuits, have generally got the better of them. In the whole north-western part of Persia the country population is exclusively Turkish; in Azarbaijan and Khamseh this is also the case in the towns, while elsewhere the town population consists of a mixture of Turks and Persians. The change to settled existence came about chiefly after the rule of the Kajars began, when the military and official class, attracted by the life of ease now opened to them, grew more and more accustomed to fixed abodes, and exchanged the sword for the plough.

As to the nomads and semi-nomads, they are by no means new arrivals from the steppe who have begun to wander in Persian territory for want of arable land. They are original nomads, who have been in the country for centuries, and, owing partly to vicissitudes of history, partly to the strong national Turkish distaste for a settled life, have continued their old wandering habits. The territory in which these Turkish nomads (called *Ilal*, 'the people') migrate can only be stated in a general way. Thus, the Shahsevens are chiefly to be found in the regions of Transcaucasia already mentioned, but also in Khamseh and in the district of Tehran; the tribes Khoja-ali, Begdilli, and Sheikhlü in Karabagh; the Mahmudlu in Maragha; the Janbeglu, Imamlu, Avshars, and Usanlu, as also the Kajars, in Mazandaran; and the Kashkais and Allahverdis in the south of Persia.

The designation of nomad in the Central Asiatic sense of the term is hardly applicable to any of the Turkish migratory tribes in Persia, because in the first place they lack extensive pastures, and their flocks and herds are, moreover, insignificant compared with the Turkmen and Kirghiz scale. They breed chiefly sheep, fewer camels, and still fewer horses. The sheep form a transition between the Central Asian fat-tailed type and those of Anatolia, while their horses are a cross between the original breed of the steppe and the Arab, but without the speed or the endurance of their progenitors. The Shahsevens, the Kajars, and the Avshars appear to have the best horses.

The impression made on the observer by the Turkish nomads of Persia is one of poverty and wretchedness. They

live in long low tents which are made of woven horse-hair, and are by Europeans generally called 'gipsy tents'. The interiors are bare and uncomfortable, suggestive of a people that, without abandoning its ingrained love of wandering, has long lost the real spirit of the primitive nomad. Only the old clan conditions and the blind obedience to the tribal chiefs (Il-khan) have still to some extent been preserved among them. All able-bodied men are ready to take up arms at the summons of the chief. Thus the Il-khans of the Kashkais have succeeded down to modern times in inspiring the Persian Government with fear. The same is the case in the north of Persia, where the Khans still enjoy greater authority than the Shah, who would take care to avoid meddling in the internal affairs of the various tribes. The patriarchal constitution of the Turkish nomads in Persia, and even in the Russian territory of Transcaucasia, has thus been but little modified by the ruling power.

Language. As regards its linguistic character, the Turkish of Azarbaijan is most closely connected with the Osman dialect, especially that spoken in Anatolia. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries there was probably no difference at all between these two dialects, as at that time the Iranian Turks and the Osmans constituted one and the same tribe, the nearest kin to the Turkmens of to-day. The comparison of the earliest linguistic records confirms this conclusion. A Turkish Seljuk poem dating from the thirteenth century and the language of the historian Neshri, who lived in the second half of the fifteenth century, compared and contrasted with the Azarbaijan Turkish of to-day, show clearly that these two old Turkish specimens are both grammatically and lexically very closely akin to the dialect of the present day Iranian Turks. In course of time the Osman dialect, owing to special cultural influences, diverged more and more from the common language, while the Azarbaijan dialect remained essentially unchanged. The Iranian Turks can understand the Osmans much more easily than they can the Turkmens.

Literature. Owing to the strong influence of Persian writers there has been little chance for the development of a national Turkish literature among the Iranian Turks. In the first place, there have been very few Turkish literary men in Persia, and these have for the most part conformed to the

fashion of employing the Persian language. A small number have, however, written Turkish poetry, which generally bears the stamp of Central Asian culture or resembles the popular lays of Anatolia. The works of some of the Turkish poets of Transcaucasia belonging to the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries have been collected and published.⁹⁹ There is also a collection of epic songs by the national hero and national bard K roglu, who always appears as the prototype of the Turkish spirit and the true representative of Turanian heroism. That the nucleus of this heroic saga¹⁰⁰ was brought with them by the western Turks from their home in the steppes is undoubted. The epic of K roglu is known among the Uzbeks and Turkmens in Khiva, by the Kazaks on the Sea of Aral and to the north-east of the Caspian, and westwards as far as the coast of Syria. Though not of much linguistic value, this epic is all the more important as representing the national Turkish character. There are besides some wedding songs, parables, and proverbs that live in the tradition of the Iranian Turks and can all be traced to a Turkmen or Central Asian source. They all show how superficially centuries of Persian influence have affected the customs and the modes of thought of the Iranian Turk. He still appears much nearer to his Central Asian kinsman than to the Osman, in spite of the bitter feuds that have raged for 400 years between the Shiite Turks and their Sunnite brethren in the north-east.

History. When the Turks first entered Iran it is difficult to say. But we know from the evidence of the Avesta that Turanians, that is, Turks, were on the borders of Iran and in conflict with its inhabitants many centuries B.C., and there can be no doubt that the northern edge of Iran, that is, Khorasan, the southern shore of the Caspian, and Transcaucasia must from time immemorial have been subject to the invasions of single Turkish tribes and hordes. But the Iranian Turks of to-day are for the most part descendants of those Turks who invaded Persia from the eleventh to the thirteenth centuries during the Seljuk and the Mongol periods.

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b. *The Ottoman Turks*

Habitat. The remainder of the Western Turks inhabit the Turkish Empire, having moved farther away from their original home than any other branch of their race. By far the most important tribe here are the Osmanlis or Ottomans. Though not distinguished from other Turks in language or customs they have played a more prominent part in history than any other tribe of the race. This is the branch which first became known to the west. They were originally a tribe, settled in the mountain district to the south and south-east of the Sea of Marmora, that took their name from their leader Osman. Their habitat at the present day is, in Europe, the south-east corner of the Balkan peninsula, and in Asia, Anatolia, Armenia, and Northern Syria.

Number. In the absence of any trustworthy statistics it is impossible to give a probable estimate of the numbers of the nomad and semi-nomad Turkish population of Asia Minor. Vambéry, thirty-three years ago, thought the Yürüks numbered about 300,000. If this figure is approximately correct, all these nomads taken together cannot exceed half a million, or rather less than 5 per cent. of the total population of the Turkish Empire. It is probably considerably less.

The total number of Turks, settled and nomad, in the whole Empire is about $9\frac{1}{2}$ millions. Of these less than two millions are to be found in Europe. The latter were probably never more numerous in the past, because the object of their conquests beyond Adrianople and Philippopolis was the spread of Islam and not of Turkish nationality; for the Turks never felt quite at home in Europe, and preferred Asiatic soil for their habitat.

Name. The name of the Osmanli Turks is genealogical rather than ethnic, for it means the clan of Osman and their descendants as opposed to Seljuks and other Turks. 'Ottoman'¹⁰¹ is only a modification of 'Othman' (the Arabic form of 'Osman') much as 'Turcoman'¹⁰¹ is of the correct 'Turkmen'. In the thirteenth century the whole of that part of Asia Minor which was inhabited by Turks was called Turkmenia, at least Marco Polo (ch. ii) speaks of the regions of Konia, Kaisari, and Sivas by that name. Similarly other mediaeval travellers treat Turkmen as a collective national

designation, while the individual is called Türk. The name Osmanli has become a sort of Imperial designation of the religious and political unity of the Empire.

Race. To the ethnographer the Osman of to-day is a man in whose veins Turkish blood constitutes an infinitesimally small proportion, and whose physique shows not the slightest trace of the Turkish type. His nationality is Turkish in a political sense only; ethnologically it represents the most varied conglomerate imaginable, an extraordinary mixture of Turks with Aryan, Semitic and other races, such as Greeks, Slavs, Kurds, Persians, Armenians, Georgians, Circassians, Arabs, Abyssinians, Sudanese, and so on. The Turanian type has become so effaced that traces of it are very rarely to be met with among them, while on the other hand representatives of the pure Aryan or the pure Semitic type occasionally crop up in this mixed population. The physique of the Osmans living in old Armenia, especially from Kars to Malatia, shows a predominantly Aryan type founded on a Kurdish basis. It is only in Anatolia proper (the provinces of Aidan, Konia, Kastamuni, and Sivas) that the majority of the Osman population shows a certain uniform type evolved from a Greek substratum. Here the small number of immigrant Turks has to such an extent been absorbed in the predominant original Greek population that there has arisen a special Greek-Turkish type in which the Greek element prevails more and more as the coast is approached. In regard to European Turkey, Stamboul itself presents the highest degree of mixture between Turks and the people of the nearer Asiatic, the Caucasian Greek, and the Slavonic types, so that the Moslem Osmanli is indicated only by his dress, his head-gear, his beard, and his shoes. Hence the Osman of the Bosphorus can be transformed into a Greek or regular South European by mere change of dress and other means of external adaptation. The same applies to the remaining European Turks, except that among them the southern Slav and the Albanian type predominates.

Nomad Tribes. The Osmanlis are, however, not the only Turks in the Turkish Empire; for after the defeat of the Emperor Romanus at Manzikert (1071) Turkmens and Turks of every description poured into Asia Minor. These are represented by a few single tribes which have remained nomads or semi-nomads and, being less mixed than the Osmanlis, have

preserved more of the Asiatic type. The most numerous of these are known as Yürüks, and Turkmens, who wander in various parts of Western and Southern Asia Minor, chiefly in the districts of Aidan, Marash, and Diarbekr. The Yürüks extend in small groups from the neighbourhood of Smyrna to the eastern Taurus, and as marauders infest the whole of the south-western parts of Asia Minor. 'Yürük' means 'nomad', the name given them by their settled Turkish kinsmen, while they call themselves 'Türk' or 'Türkmen'. The Yürüks are the most thoroughly nomadic of all the races of Antolia, preserving the old Central Asian nomadic habit with many customs accompanying it. They sometimes wander very great distances between their summer and their winter haunts. The attempts of Abdul Hamid to force them to settle were only partially successful. They resemble the Azarbaijans of Transcaucasia both in physique and in dialect rather than the Osmanlis. Thus they have retained a considerable number of old Turkish words which in Osmanli have been modernized or replaced by Arabic-Persian loan-words. Like other nomads they attach great importance to their division into tribes and clans. Some of their clan-names occur among the Turkmens also; one of them, Kajar, is that of the Turkish family on the Persian throne. This shows the close connexion of these nomads with the steppe-dwellers of Northern Persia, and leaves no doubt as to their Turkmen origin. Down to the fifteenth century the Yürüks were joined by fresh accessions of Turkish nomads, and as they continued to adhere to their migratory habits, they have remained racially and linguistically purer than their settled kinsmen in Asia Minor. Though they do not appear to have a religion of their own, they are only nominally Mohammedans. Their marriage customs are identical with those of the Azarbaijans. It is somewhat remarkable that their tents have not the same form as that of the Iranian Turks, but have retained the circular Central Asiatic shape. Their popular poetry, too, is more akin to that of the eastern than of the western Turks. Their chief occupation is the raising of live stock; in particular they are great camel breeders.

The Turkmen tribes extend widely over Anatolia, but their principal haunt is in the level plains around the great salt lake in the centre of the country and in the eastern Taurus

Mountains. They are already mentioned as nomads in the twelfth century. They are a tall, powerfully built race, more distinctively Asiatic in physical type and in occupation than the settled Turks of the towns and villages, who are more like Europeans.

The Kizil-Bash Turks are found in the plains of Asia Minor around Angora, Tokat, and Karahissar. They are not Yürüks or Turkmens, but are for the most part descendants of Iranian Turks from Azarbaijan and Transcaucasia. They differ somewhat from the surrounding settled Turkish population, both in physique and customs. They are only semi-nomads, as they spend the winter in huts and to some extent engage in agriculture. They call themselves Eski Türk. Their women are said to enjoy unusual freedom. They have a secret religion in which Shiite tenets seem to be combined with older pagan elements.

Other small fractions of half or entirely nomad Turks are the Avshars in the Anti-Taurus, who according to their own tradition came from Khorasan and are probably related to the Avshars who still live in that province, and from whom Nadir Shah emerged.

There are, besides, the Nogaians around Adana, who formerly consisted of 20,000 families, but by 1885 had been reduced to only 2,000. This contingent of the Nogaians migrated to Asia Minor from Russia after the Crimean War.

Language. When the Osmans appeared in Asia Minor they spoke the same inner Asiatic dialect which, with slight modifications, prevailed among the Turks from the T'ien Shan to the Ural. This appears from the evidence of the personal Turkish names occurring in the earliest Osman historians, as compared with the same names found in the *Kudatku Bilik* (1070), and in the chronicles of the Ghaznevids. But Islam exercised a more disintegrating effect on the language and literature of the Osmans than on those of any other branch of the Turks. Thus even in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries their literary language was filled with an immense number of Arabic-Persian loan-words, as it has continued to be down to quite recent years, when the Pan-Turanian movement has been endeavouring to eliminate them. It is only the popular songs of Anatolia that have partially preserved the stamp of the Turkish popular spirit; still more their proverbs and

parables, many of which have remained so unadulterated that they are still to be found in a literally identical form among the Turkmens and the Uzbeqs of Khiva. Only very slight traces of the Turkish spirit survive in the Sharkis or 'love-songs', which for the most part imitate Arabic and Persian models. The music that accompanies these is of pure Persian origin. Old Turkish melodies are to be found among the Yürüks only.

The dialects of the settled Turks of Asia Minor may be divided into the northern, western, and southern, the variations of which are, however, very slight. The philological evidence of these dialects shows that the ethnic basis of the population speaking the first two was predominantly or perhaps exclusively Greek, while the third was fundamentally Turkish. The southern dialect contains a considerable number of words akin to the Turkish of Central Asia: an indication that its vocabulary was less exposed to the denationalizing influence of Arabic and Persian literature than that of the Osmanli literary and official language. A detailed study of these dialects will probably shed more light on the proportionate relations of the Turkish and the original elements in the present population of Asia Minor.

Civilization. The Moslem culture of centuries has produced an Osman civilization greatly modified by climatic and by Greek intellectual influences. In spite of the deep division between Moslems and Christians, the former were unable to remain unaffected by Byzantine culture. As long as society was constituted on a nomadic military basis, the leaders of the Persian-Turkish world view, of which Konia, and later Brusa, were the centres, could remain unmoved. But when the Turks appeared on European soil and received a multitude of Greek Christian neophytes, the foundations of Asiatic Moslem civilization were bound to be modified. Thus Byzantine architecture took the lead instead of the Persian Central Asiatic style. Selim I (1465-1521) introduced the custom of shaving off the beard, which among other Moslems, especially those of Central Asia, is strongly objected to, and by the orthodox is regarded as downright apostasy. The adoption of the short jacket (called *salta*) by the Osmans is reprobated by the adherents of the Moslem rules of dress, which require the use of garments reaching to the ankles as well as concealing the contour of the body. These are some of the usages and

customs which can be attributed to Graeco-Byzantine influence only. Modifications of Turkish clothing and food have also been brought about by the requirements of the climate of Anatolia.

Social History. Three successive main periods are observable in the history of the social life of the Turks. The first has a strongly marked Persian character, coming down to the consolidation of the Ottoman State, especially to the conquest of Syria. During this period the Persian influence made itself felt both in everyday life and in literature. One of its manifestations is the predilection for Persian words and phrases which characterized the first phase of Osman literature. The second stage bears an Arabic stamp. In proportion as the Osmans subjected the Arab element of the population, the Arabic influence as embodied in the Kuran, increased more and more both in language and in social life. Society assumed a strictly Moslem aspect, and even in popular language the commonest ideas came to be expressed by Arabic words. The third period began when the Osmans took root in Europe. Their upper classes were at that time already so permeated with Greek elements that Hellenic blood flowed not only in the veins of single grand viziers, but even of influential Ulemas (priests). For a considerable proportion of Byzantine intellect was now in the service of the conquerors. Thus not only in political administration, but even in ecclesiastical life, institutions and dignities came into being which were in opposition to the real spirit of the Moslem-Asiatic world, and were forbidden as opposed to Moslem law. Only the power and respect which the Osman procured for the doctrine of the prophet were able to mitigate his transgressions and sinful innovations in the eyes of the fanatics in the east. But Arabs, Persians, Indians, Afghans, and Central Asians have always regarded the Osmans as co-religionists whose manners and customs were strange and surprising, without being able to account for the nature and causes of this divergence.

Survival of few old Turkish customs. The strict centralization exercised since the middle of the sixteenth century by Constantinople, the centre of this mosaic civilization, even on the most remote provinces of the Ottoman Empire, has naturally obliterated many old Turkish traits. The adoption of Persian culture resulted, as early as the beginning of the sixteenth

century, in the Osmans looking down on Turkish civilization, so that 'Turk' and 'Turkish' became synonymous with 'rude' and 'uncouth'. Islam has always tended to denationalization, but it has nowhere worked more effectively in this direction than among the Osmanli Turks. Thus only a few of the old customs which they brought with them from their home in the eastern steppes still survive among them. These are the following. In the interior of Anatolia, especially among the Turks of Tokat, Sivas, and Engürü (Angora), a child at birth is bestrewn with salt and smeared with fat, as well as swaddled in the same way as among the Kirghiz. At the wedding ceremony the bride goes to the house of the bridegroom in the same festal manner (though no longer on horseback, but in a palanquin) as is the custom of the Kirghiz; similarly the daughter-in-law is not allowed to show her face to her father-in-law, or to address him and her brothers-in-law by name. The wedding formulas and songs resemble those of the Iranian Turks of Azarbaijan; but of the *kalim* or price paid for the bride, so universal among other Turks, there is no longer the slightest trace. Among domestic utensils the kettle (*kazan*) still plays as important a rôle as is assigned to it by Turkish nomads in general. The Osman's predilection for the profession of arms and for the horse, but especially for cattle-breeding, is a reminiscence of his old manner of life. Moreover, the thoroughly Hellenized Osman still pastures in the valleys of Karaman the same species of sheep which his Turkmen ancestors brought with them from the banks of the Yaxartes and of the Tejend (Hari Rud), and which even after a separate existence of more than six centuries has not lost its excellence.

Characteristics. But what especially stamps the Osmanlis as Turks is the general character of their moral qualities, which, in spite of the strong Islamic tinge it has acquired, shows a genuine Turkish groundwork that has prevailed over the superimposed heterogeneous ethnic elements. Hence even though he may be like the Greek, the Armenian, or the Circassian in features and build, the Osman in his mien and bearing, in his movements and manners, betrays the real Turk. In his heavy and portly appearance, in his seriousness and sedateness, he is exactly like his tent-dwelling kinsman of the steppes. The Anatolian peasant is honest, sober, and

industrious, suffers with the utmost patience the oppression of officials, makes great sacrifices for his sovereign and his faith; he is kind and unassuming in his domestic relations, and on the field of battle makes one of the best soldiers in the world. It is somewhat surprising that all these good qualities no admixture of foreign blood has been able to extinguish.

Political success of the Osmanlis. It is a striking fact that of all the Turkish tribes the Osmanlis have been the only one that has succeeded in establishing a permanent state. Whereas the hordes of nomadic horsemen under Attila, Jenghiz Khan, and Timur swept like a hurricane from the heart of the east far into Europe without leaving behind a trace of their power, the Osmans were able to found a state which has lasted six hundred years; which, at the period of its culmination, by its extension far into three continents and its despotic rule over peoples of various speech, faith, and colour, surpassed even the Roman Empire in its prime; and which the combined power of the west has only succeeded in reducing to comparative impotence after a struggle of centuries. The opportunity for the brilliant military triumphs of their early period was due to their having penetrated farther west than any other Turks, and to their occupation of territory in immediate contiguity to that of the Byzantine Empire at a time when that Empire was in a condition of rapid decay. But how has this branch of the Turks been able to maintain for so long the dominion over foreign races which they established by the power of the sword? There can be no doubt that this capacity has resulted partly from the strong admixture of Aryan blood and partly from that fusion of Moslem Asiatic with Christian Occidental civilization which have transformed the Osmanli Turk. The Osmans brought with them from their home in the eastern steppes the Turanian virtues of bravery, simplicity and the patriarchal spirit, and spent the early period of their western existence under the aegis of the comparatively higher Moslem Persian civilization. When they appeared on the stage of world history, they already approached, by the absorption of so many Graeco-Slavonic elements, much nearer to Occidental civilization than is commonly supposed. The official and ruling class, even in the reign of Suleiman I (1520-66), during which Turkey attained the highest point of her glory, had already lost several elements of the old Turkish national

character, which, though capable of founding a military state, had never possessed the art of maintaining it. The Osmanli acquired this faculty by his occidentalization, aided no doubt by the unifying power of Islam, which he imposed on all conquered nationalities. At the same time he retained the old Turkish submissiveness to and belief in despotic rule. This trait has led to a degree of misgovernment never equalled in any other large state, because absolute power has been in the hands of a long series of mostly incompetent and self-indulgent sultans controlling a highly centralized system, which even the ablest and most industrious rulers could not have dealt with adequately. The result has been a general condition of corruption and oppression prevailing not only in conquered countries, but even in the homeland of the Osmanlis. The disintegrating influence of the political and social degradation working within has gone hand in hand with a number of unsuccessful wars, which have shorn the Empire of practically all its conquests and reduced it almost to the limits of the area inhabited by the Osmanlis themselves. Had the Osmans not spent their energies in long-continued conflicts with Hungarians, Germans, and Italians, but concentrated their attention on collecting and consolidating their scattered Turkish-speaking kinsmen whom they left behind, and who extended from the T'ien Shan and the Altai to the Crimea and the Danube, they might have formed a much greater and much more stable combatant power highly dangerous to western civilization. But they lacked the necessary political insight. The denationalizing influence of Islam made them forget their kinsmen in the east. As the vanguard of the Turks in the west they remained cut off from their motherland, without endeavouring to keep in intellectual touch with, and to reinforce their power from, Central Asia.

History. The starting-point in the political history of the Osmanlis is the period in which Er-tograul, or rather his son Osman (died 1326) laid the foundation of the later Osmanli state. But we must go back more than 200 years before this to reach the epoch at which the Turks, under the name of Seljuks, first entered (1071) Armenia, Anatolia, and North Syria in considerable numbers. The Persian writer Mirchond¹⁰² designates the Khazar steppe, that is, the region to the north-east of the Caspian, as the locality whence these Turks came,

and the neighbourhood of Yend in the north of Bokhara as the starting-point of Seljuk's march against Samarkand. Most Oriental authors represent the Seljuk Turks as belonging to the Oghuz, a Turkish tribe whose identity with the first Turks that in prehistoric times moved westward is undoubted.¹⁰³ These statements of Eastern authorities, taken in combination with the evidence of the Seljuk dialect, justify the assumption that the majority of the Turkish invaders, under Seljuk and his descendants, of Northern Persia and Asia Minor were the blood relations of the present Turkmens who, in the eleventh century and earlier, were in occupation of the steppes extending from the north of the Caspian to the Volga.

The successors of Osman rapidly overran the north-western part of Asia Minor and the south-western part of Europe, ultimately making themselves heirs to the old Seljuk Sultans of Konia or Roum, and leaders of the entire Empire. At this time the Turkish power was bounded on the south by the Taurus Mountains; it was not till the beginning of the sixteenth century that the Osmanli Sultans extended their sway south of the Taurus, conquering Cilicia, Syria, and Egypt under Selim II (1524-74).

Judging by the Turkification of the names of Greek towns, which was in existence even in the earliest period of Osmanli history, the influence of the Turkish language very soon began to make itself felt in Anatolia. But the real Turkification did not set in till the struggle of the Byzantine Emperors against Turkdom had lasted nearly 200 years. It was chiefly the Greeks and the Armenians who were most exposed to Turkification, while the Semites in the south, the Kurds in the east, and the Caucasians in the north were affected by it in a lesser degree and at a later period. With the Greeks the transformation proceeded very rapidly. For after the lapse of scarcely a century it could be said in 1334 that, in the whole of Western Asia Minor, Philadelphia alone retained its Greek character. It was the Osmans who energetically entered on the policy of Turkification, because they rather than the Seljuks conceived the idea of developing a political state in Western Asia. The devastating incursions of the Turks caused the Greeks to flee first to the coast and then to Europe. The interior of Anatolia thus becoming depopulated, the gaps were filled up by the influx of Moslem Turks. Hence by the end of

the fourteenth century Anatolia was probably as much Turkified as it is to-day. Even in Europe the ethnic transformation produced by the Osmans was early concluded.

Future of the Turkish race. Till the collapse of the Russian Empire in 1917 it seemed likely that the two-thirds of the Turkish race that are outside the Ottoman Empire, having lost their political independence, were moving under the guidance of Russia in a direction opposed to Moslem culture, and were tending either to absorption in Russianism or to a stagnation of their own civilization. It also seemed probable that the independent fraction, forming the inhabitants of the Ottoman Empire, after having lain for centuries under the blighting influence of Asiatic Moslem civilization, would have neither the will nor the power to pull themselves together, and by assimilation to the over-mastering spirit of the west, to escape destruction. Neither forecast, as matters now stand, appears likely to be realized. On the one hand, Russian Turkestan has recently proclaimed itself an autonomous republic, and the Turkestan extraordinary Mohammedan general Congress has appointed a provisional government;¹⁰⁴ and by the terms of the treaty recently concluded between Germany and Russia, the Transcaucasian regions of Batum, Ardahan, and Kars are to receive the right of 'self-determination'. On the other hand, the Pan-Turanian propaganda from Constantinople has already been set in motion¹⁰⁵ among remote tribes of the Turks,¹⁰⁶ such as the Yakuts of East Siberia, and even among non-Turkish Turanians. The Osmanlis and other branches of the Turks have, since their earliest appearance on the stage of history, been the embodiment of perpetual warfare and of brute force. If the various sections of the race came to be united under the leadership of a rejuvenated Turkey and were efficiently organized, such a combination might become a permanent source of unrest, and in particular of danger to the Indian Empire.

CONCLUSIONS

Conclusions to be drawn from the data supplied above:

1. Owing to differences of religion, language, spheres of civilization, and to wide geographical separation, the Finns and Ugrians, the Samoyeds, the Tungus, the Mongols, and

the Siberian Yakuts are not in the least likely to be drawn into the Pan-Turanian movement.

2. Owing to community of religion, language, race, type of civilization, and geographical contiguity, the Pan-Turanian movement might possibly succeed among the following Turkish peoples: the Osmanli, the Caucasian, the Persian, the Afghan, the Volga, the Crimean Turks, and those of Turkestan (East and West), and of Siberia: a total population of 26,000,000.

3. Owing to their national indolence, to their political ineptitude, and to the steady diminution of the Turks of Anatolia,¹⁰⁷ the best element in the Ottoman Empire, the Turkish peoples are not likely to combine, unless they allow themselves to be organized by an outside power, that is, Germany.¹⁰⁸

4. There is a risk of the Iranian Turks, who constitute one-fifth of, and the most warlike element in, the population of Persia, combining, as a result of propaganda,¹⁰⁹ with their kinsmen and neighbours in the Caucasus, and ultimately entering into closer relations with the Ottoman Empire.¹¹⁰

NOTES

¹ Cp. p. 117; Vambéry, *Das Türkenvolk*, p. 60; *Ursprung der Magyaren*, p. 436; Castrén, *Ethnologische Vorlesungen*, pp. 18-20.

² Schäfer, *Map of the Countries and Peoples of Europe*, 4th ed., Berlin, 1916.

³ The figure given by Schäfer for the population of Asiatic Turkey is 19,710,000, but this population includes Syrians, Arabs, Kurds, Circassians, Greeks, Armenians, Jews, and others, the respective numbers of whom it is impossible to state. But 8,000,000 is the highest figure at which the Turkish element can be estimated.

⁴ Cp. p. 21, note 1. Politically 'Turk' means a Mohammedan subject of the Sultan of Turkey. It hardly affects the truth of this general statement that the Anatolian Turks now give the name to Tatar immigrants from Russia.

⁵ Of this total for Asiatic Russia (local census of 1911) 537,015 Turks are found in Siberia (p. 149), and 7,654,300 in Russian Turkestan. The Turkish population of Asiatic Russia seems generally to have been greatly overstated.

⁶ Preserved in the fragments of Menander Protector, and often discussed by European scholars.

⁷ Cp. ch. i, note 41, p. 23; cp. also Neumann, *Die Völker des südlichen Russlands*, p. 9 (Leipzig, 1847).

⁸ This is also the case with the Kazan Tatars.

⁹ St. Louis is said to have been the first to have used it thus : '*quos vocamus Tartaros ad suas tartareas sedes unde exierunt retrudemus.*'

¹⁰ The Mongol and Manchu alphabets represent further variations of this writing.

¹¹ *Das Türkenvolk*, pp. 61-2.

¹² See Vambéry, *op. cit.*, pp. 27-9.

¹³ *Op. cit.*, pp. 13 and 62.

¹⁴ *Op. cit.*, pp. 63-4; Neumann, *Die Völker des südlichen Russlands*, Leipzig, 1847, pp. 88-9.

¹⁵ A name still used by the Osmanlis as equivalent to Allah.

¹⁶ Cp. Vambéry, *Das Türkenvolk*, pp. 24-44.

¹⁷ *Op. cit.*, p. 75.

¹⁸ As in the case of the Chuvashes (pp. 50, 191) and Bashkirs.

¹⁹ De Guignes, *Allgemeine Geschichte der Hunnen und Türken*, p. 113.

²⁰ It was probably due to this superstition that the Huns, and later the Mongols, refrained from washing their clothes. Jenghiz Khan forbade the washing of clothes and of domestic utensils with water: this rule is followed by the Kalmuks at the present day. See Neumann, *op. cit.*, pp. 26-7.

²¹ Besides the Roman form of this legend there are other Asiatic variations of it: cp. Castrén, *Ethnologische Vorlesungen*, p. 61; Parker, *A Thousand Years of the Tartars*, London, 1895, p. 178.

²² This is the white wolf idol which the Turks used to worship before their conversion to Islam, and which has now been introduced into a neo-Turanian prayer: see *Near East*, Jan. 19, 1917.

²³ See Vambéry, *Das Türkenvolk*, pp. 12-16.

²⁴ Translated by Beal, London, 1884, and by Watters, London, 1904-5.

²⁵ Cp. Vambéry, *Das Türkenvolk*, pp. 314 ff.; Parker, *op. cit.*, pp. 265 ff.; Grenard, *La légende de Satok Boghra Khan et l'histoire*, in *Journal Asiatique*, 1900, pp. 24 ff.; on the Uigur kingdom with its capital Kara-Khoja, near Turfan, *ibid.*, pp. 28 f.

²⁶ Castrén, *Ethnologische Vorlesungen*, p. 65.

²⁷ *Op. cit.*, p. 66.

²⁸ The learned Albērūnī, who accompanied Mahmūd of Ghaznī to India, wrote in Arabic a valuable account of the country and its institutions, which he completed in 1030, translated into English by Sachau, 2nd impression, London, 1908.

²⁹ According to vol. i, p. 144, of *Asiatic Russia*. The figure given in Czaplicka, *Aboriginal Siberia*, p. 20, based on Patkanoff, *Statistical Data*, &c., St. Petersburg, 1912, is 226,739.

³⁰ Otherwise nearly all Turkish tribes are Moslems.

³¹ Cp. Vambéry, *Das Türkenvolk*, p. 328.

³² The Koibals and the Soyones (pp. 83-4) also call themselves by this name.

³³ This agrees with the Chinese account of the *Dubo* (= Tuba). The name indicates that these Tatars originally came from the east.

³⁴ *Aus Sibirien*, i, p. 213. This scholar (p. 212) thinks that these Tatars were in origin Samoyeds, who, already Turkified, migrated at the beginning of the eighteenth century to the region which they now occupy, and that it was the Kirghiz (i. e. the Kazaks) that Turkified these Samoyed tribes.

³⁵ In old Indian mythology eclipses are accounted for by a demon swallowing the sun and the moon.

³⁶ The Altaians also say 'Yälbägän has eaten the moon', though they generally say 'the moon has become Burkhan' (i. e. Buddha): the latter is an imported Buddhist myth.

³⁷ See note 43.

³⁸ Hartmann, *Chinesisch-Turkestan*, p. 73, note 3.

³⁹ The author of the *Kudatku Bilik* (1070) calls the land *Turkistan* and the language *Turkdili*, 'the tongue of the Turks'.

⁴⁰ *Report of a Mission to Yarkand*, p. 62, where details for the different towns and districts are given, as Yarkand, 224,000; Turfan, 126,000; Khotan, 120,000; Kashgar, 112,000, &c.

⁴¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 64.

⁴² See photographs in Forsyth, *op. cit.*, pp. 106-10, 118. According to Sir Aurel Stein (*Ancient Khotan*, vol. i, p. 144) there is some reason for supposing that the fundamental element in the population of Khotan at least is allied to the Aryan Galchas or Alpine Tajiks.

⁴³ These are Kashgar, Yenghi-Hissar, Yarkand, Khotan, Aksu, Kucha. Later the 'seven cities' came to be spoken of, Karashar being added as the seventh.

⁴⁴ Two MSS. of this work have been preserved, one in Uigur writing at Vienna, the other in Arabic characters at Cairo.

⁴⁵ The Chinese Buddhist pilgrims who visited India in the fifth to seventh centuries after Christ represent the Kucha and Karashar of to-day as the chief seats of the Turks.

⁴⁶ Hartmann, *op. cit.*, p. 65.

⁴⁷ See Yule, *Cathay*, i, pp. 273 f., 291, 297; iv, 241 f. For a modern account of this gate see Stein, *Ruins of Desert Cathay*, ii, 273 f.

⁴⁸ See Stein, *Note on the Routes from the Punjab to Turkestan and China. Recorded by William-Finch* (1611), Lahore, 1917.

⁴⁹ Between India and Turkestan there have existed cultural and economic relations from the earliest times.

⁵⁰ On these and minor trade routes, and on trade with Russia and India, see Hartmann, *Chinesisch-Turkestan*, Halle a/S, 1908, ch. iv.

⁵¹ Some of the Dungans form colonies to the west of Issik-kul, in the Russian territory of the government of Semirychensk.

⁵² *Asiatic Russia*, vol. i, p. 143.

⁵³ *Op. cit.*, p. 164.

⁵⁴ Who number about 25,000; cp. note 51.

⁵⁵ According to *Asiatic Russia*, 1914, this is the total of all Kirghiz in Asiatic Russia. It includes 37,982 Kirghiz counted among the Siberian Turks (537,015). The number of Kirghiz in the Steppe country is stated to be 2,173,959, and in Russian Turkestan 2,480,443. No distinction is made in the Russian census between Kazak-Kirghiz and Kara-Kirghiz. But as in the census of 1897, out of 4,084,139, the general number of Kirghiz, 350,000 were Kara-Kirghiz, the present number of the latter may be taken to be rather over 400,000.

⁵⁶ Hence the term Kazak came gradually to be applied to all freebooters similarly equipped, and in this sense spread from the Aral-Caspian basin to South Russia, where it still survives in the form of Cossack, spelt Kazak or Kozak in Russian. Though Kazak and Cossack are therefore originally the same word, the former now designates a Turkish nomad people, the latter various members of the Slav family.

⁵⁷ Cp. Radloff, *Aus Sibirien*, p. 235.

⁵⁸ Cp. Vambéry, *Das Türkenvolk*, pp. 292-8.

⁵⁹ Probably dating from the time of the Mongolian invasion; cp. Vambéry, *Das Türkenvolk*, p. 284.

⁶⁰ For details see Vambéry, *op. cit.*, pp. 284-7; Radloff, *Aus Sibirien*, pp. 235-40.

⁶¹ Czaplicka, *Aboriginal Siberia*, p. 54.

⁶² In Babar's *Memoirs*, written by himself (translated into English by Leyden and Erskine, London, 1826); abridged in Caldecott, *Life of Baber*, London, 1844; cp. Stanley Lane Poole, *Baber* (Rulers of India Series), Oxford, 1899.

⁶³ See p. 169. Cp. Price, *War and Revolution in Asiatic Russia*, London, 1917, p. 272.

⁶⁴ Jan. 17, 1918. Cp. note 104.

⁶⁵ *Asiatic Russia*, 1914, does not distinguish between Kazak and Kara-Kirghiz, giving the total number of 'Kirghiz' for the whole of Asiatic Russia as 4,692,384; see *supra*, note 55.

⁶⁶ Vambéry, *Das Türkenvolk*, p. 261, thinks they were so called by the Kazaks as an expression of hostility ('black' = 'bad').

⁶⁷ See above, p. 126, and Vambéry, *Das Türkenvolk*, p. 258.

⁶⁸ The *ut* is the Mongol plural ending as in *Yak-ut*. *Bur-ut* is identical with *Bur-yat* (*yat* = *ut*), the name of the Baikal Mongols.

⁶⁹ See what is said above (p. 161) of the Kazak-Kirghiz.

⁷⁰ Described by Radloff, *Aus Sibirien*, pp. 230-4.

⁷¹ *Aus Sibirien*, p. 527.

⁷² Translated from the Russian Journal, *Semirechenskia Oblastnia Viedomosti*.

⁷³ *Asiatic Russia*, vol. i, p. 175. Vambéry, *Das Türkenvolk*, p. 442, estimated the Turkmens at probably one million.

⁷⁴ *Das Türkenvolk*, p. 401.

⁷⁵ The Aryan Tajiks, the aborigines of the fertile parts of Turkestan, were subdued by the Turco-Mongol invaders. They were partly compelled to emigrate to the mountains, where they are now known as Galchas. Numbering over 350,000, these are the principal owners of the irrigated land.

⁷⁶ This is analogous to the early Anglo-Indian use of 'Banyan', merchant (from the Indian *banya*), because this was the class that Europeans first came in contact with on the west coast of India. Hence also 'Banyan tree' (*Ficus Indica*).

⁷⁷ Vambéry gives their number as 70,107, on the basis of official Russian data when he wrote.

⁷⁸ *Asiatic Russia*, vol. i. The *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (11th ed.) gives conflicting figures; 726,500 under Turkestan, but 200,000 under Turks. Vambéry, *Das Türkenvolk*, p. 366, estimated the total number of Uzbeks at 2,000,000, including 200,000 in Afghan Turkistan.

⁷⁹ *Le Kouhistan, le Ferghana et Kouldja*, p. 62.

⁸⁰ According to Vambéry, *Das Türkenvolk*, p. 335, this is not true of Khiva.

⁸¹ *Loc. cit.*

⁸² Meyer, *Konversationslexikon*, 1903.

⁸³ See his *Das Türkenvolk*, pp. 447-95.

⁸⁴ See Vambéry, *Das Türkenvolk*, pp. 518-24.

⁸⁵ In Constantinople and Bokhara the Turks of Kazan and Ufa are still so called.

⁸⁶ Cp. Howorth, *History of the Mongols*, ii, pp. 1011-56.

⁸⁷ This was the estimate of Vambéry about thirty years ago; see *Das Türkenvolk*, pp. 546-7.

⁸⁸ *Das Türkenvolk*, p. 566.

⁸⁹ See *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 11th ed., vol. v, p. 548 (Caucasia).

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*

⁹¹ Cp. Vambéry's estimate of the Iranian Turks in Transcaucasia in 1885, when, according to him, they numbered close on 1,000,000 (358,000 in Elizavetpol, 305,000 in Baku, 214,000 in Erivan), p. 592. Transcaucasia declared itself independent on April 22, 1918 (Supplement to *Summary of Intelligence*, 3. 6. 18). It is spoken of as the newly established Republic of Azarbaijan Elizavetpol and Baku).

⁹² The Turks thus occupy numerically the second place among all the natives of Caucasasia, the Russians coming first with about double the number (about 4,000,000).

⁹³ In the *Near East*, 31. 5. 18, p. 438, col. 2, there are stated to be some 200,000 Tatars in the Crimea. According to Pauli, *Peuples uralo-altaïques*, p. 35, the Lithuanian Tatars (see above, p. 181), numbering about 8,000 in the districts of Minsk, Vilna, Grodno, Kovno, and in the south of Poland, are direct descendants of the Crimean Tatars. They were partly prisoners of war settled here in 1395, and partly volunteers in the Polish army. They lost their language long ago, but are still Mohammedans, who only know the Kuran in Polish and Russian translations, and write Russian and Polish in Arabic characters.

⁹⁴ Vambéry, *Das Türkenvolk*, p. 576, enumerates the tribal names of the Persian Turks; see also Sheil, *Glimpses of Life and Manners in Persia*, London, 1856, pp. 396-401.

⁹⁵ An account of a visit to the Kashkais is given by Colonel Oliver St. John in the Report of the fifty-second meeting of the British Association (London, 1883), p. 638. Their winter quarters in the neighbourhood of the village of Farashkend are especially described.

⁹⁶ Cp. Polak, *Persien, das Land und seine Bewohner* (Leipzig, 1865), i, 16.

⁹⁷ Seidlitz, *Russische Revue*, xv, p. 498.

⁹⁸ *Das Türkenvolk*, p. 580.

⁹⁹ By Adolf Bergé, *Dichtungen transkaukasischer Sänger des 18. und 19. Jahrhunderts in aserbaidshanischer Mundart*, Leipzig, 1868.

¹⁰⁰ See Chodsko, *Specimens of the popular poetry of Persia as found in the adventures and improvisation of Kurroglu, the bandit minstrel of Northern Persia, and in the songs of the people inhabiting the shores of the Caspian Sea*, London, 1842.

¹⁰¹ Through the Byzantine forms 'Οθώμανοι and Τουρκώμανοι.

¹⁰² Cp. Mirchond, *Historia Seldschukidarum*, edited in Persian by Vullers, Giessen, 1837, p. 4.

¹⁰³ See Vambéry, *Das Türkenvolk*, p. 386.

¹⁰⁴ *Westminster Gazette*, Jan. 17, 1918. In the Supplement to *Summary of Intelligence* for 4. 6. 18 it is reported that a meeting of Bolshevik delegates

including fifty Mohammedans had declared that Turkestan should be autonomous, but federated to Russia.

¹⁰⁵ Cp. Stürmer, *Two War Years in Constantinople*, London, 1917; and article on the *German Turanian Scheme*, by Dr. Holland Rose, in the *Westminster Gazette* for Jan. 3, 1918.

¹⁰⁶ German propaganda leading to insurrection was also started in 1916 among the Kirghiz Turks of Southern Central Siberia, as shown below by the translation from the Russian report in Appendix B (p. 229).

¹⁰⁷ See Sir William Ramsay, *The Intermixture of Races in Asia Minor*, Proceedings of the British Academy, Oct. 25, 1916, pp. 41-3.

¹⁰⁸ It is reported in the Supplement to the *Summary of Intelligence* (27. 4. 18) that a special committee, including Dr. Schmidt and German officers, had been formed at the War Office at Constantinople to deal with propaganda in Persia and Central Asia, and to pay special attention to Turkestan, Afghanistan, and India; armed bands were to be organized in north-western Persia to operate in southern Persia. It is also reported (*S. of I.*, 24. 7. 18) that German efforts to amalgamate various Moslem nationalities of Russia with those of Turkestan by means of Turkish emissaries have had some effect among the Tatars of Kazan, who were previously anti-German. German officers were also reported at Tashkent carrying on propaganda among the Moslems (*S. of I.*, 18. 6. 18).

¹⁰⁹ In the *Summary of Intelligence* (10. 5. 18) it is reported that fifteen German officers were *en route* to join a Turkish military Attaché, accompanied by twelve Turkish officers, at Tehran.

¹¹⁰ In an article on 'Persia and Great Britain' (*Near East*, 19. 7. 18) the writer remarks: 'Turkish statesmen aim at binding Persia to Turkey as a subordinate ally.' On German intrigues in Persia see *The Diary of a German Agent*, London, 1918.

APPENDIX

A.

A GERMAN'S TWO YEARS' JOURNEY

[Extract from *The Times*, June, 1917.]

(FROM OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT.)

AMSTERDAM. June 12, (1917).

'THE Berlin *Lokalanzeiger* reports that Dr. Werner Otto von Hentig returned yesterday, having carried through, under dangers and difficulties, an important diplomatic mission to the Amir of Afghanistan for the German Government. Hentig's activities are described as having frequently been the subject of discussion in the House of Commons, while *The Times* is said to have recently called him by the honourable name of "firebrand". The expedition, which lasted over two years, went *via* Persia, Afghanistan, Turkestan, and China, across the Pacific, and back to Germany by North America and Norway.

The activities of Dr. von Hentig in China, Turkestan, and Afghanistan were described in a dispatch from our Peking Correspondent published in *The Times* of April 10 last. Hentig, after being thrown out of Afghanistan, proceeded to Yarkand, and by lying and bribery induced the local Sarts and Kerghiz in Ili to rise and murder many Russian subjects, including women and children. In their turn, thousands of the deluded rebels were killed, while Hentig marched comfortably across China to the security of the German Consulate at Hankow.'

Hentig is twice mentioned as an associate of Capt. Niedermayer in *German Intrigues in Persia: The Diary of a German Agent* [W. Griesinger]: *The Niedermayer Expedition through Persia to Afghanistan and India* (translated from the German), London, 1918.

B.

THE DISTURBANCES IN SEMIRECHIE

FROM OFFICIAL DATA.

Extract from *Semirechenskia Oblastnia Vedomosti*, Nos. 200-215.

'On the evening of 30th August (1916), news arrived concerning the disturbance near Merke and in the region between Aulie-Ata

and Merke. It is clear that the rumours were exaggerated beyond measure.

By the 5th September it was ascertained that the centre of the uprising of the Kirghiz of Syr-Daria was, as a matter of fact, not at Merke, but in the valley of the Chu (whence the bands make their appearance periodically) and near the post route. Troops have already been sent there. Moreover, the detachment of 2nd Captain Poltoratski, with Lieutenant Levashof to help him, has been sent from the direction of Pishpek.

Noteworthy information arrived, which was no mere rumour, concerning events which had taken place in Semirechie between the dates of 30th August and 5th September. The district of Prjevalsk was in a very bad plight. Only the town itself remained intact, and a small part, Preobrajensk to Teplokliuchinsk, as well as the village of Mikhailobsk (Sukhomlinovsk) and the Cossack villages of Nikolaevsk. All the rest was in ruins. There were many victims. The monastery of Issyk-Kulsk had not escaped violence. (No. 200.)

On the 5th September, official information of the 1st September was received from the district of Prjevalsk. This made it clear that the uprising in the district had begun by a Kirghiz attack on the village of Gregorevka near Sazanovka, on the evening of the 9th August. By the morning of the 10th the uprising had already spread to Preobrajensk. The same day the insurgents undertook an attack upon Prjevalsk. The town was fortified; there were 42 men belonging to the frontier guards on the spot, and 86 rifles among the inhabitants. Peasants from the neighbouring villages arrived daily. They related that the Kirghiz at first confined themselves to plundering, but eventually began to massacre the Russians. The school of rural economy was destroyed, the inmates of the school and the peasants who had taken refuge there were killed. The inhabitants of the villages of Pokrovsk, Svetloi Poliana, Ivanitsk, Vysok, Bogatyrsrk, and Lipinsk had reached Prjevalsk. The inhabitants of the villages of Lizogubovsk, Sokolovsk, Otradny, Razdolni, Graf Palen, Valerianovsk, and Bobrik had collected at Teplokliuchinsk, where they successfully withstood a siege. The villages on the south bank, Issyk-Kulya Tarkhany, Barska-Un, and Gogolevka, suffered most of all, and the population of Koltsovka was killed, including Kaichef, the assistant district chief. Of the convoy of Kaichef only 5 men of the lower ranks returned. All the inhabitants of the village of Rybache reached Prjevalsk in boats, and those of the villages on the north bank and of the monastery collected in Preobrajensk.

On the evening of August 15th, Cavalry Captain Kravchenko arrived from Karkara with a company of the Drujina of Jarkensk

and 30 Cossacks under Cornet Berg. He was accompanied by the inhabitants of Karkara and of the villages of Tavrichesk and Vlaislavsk.

On 19th August, Ensign Ryskin brought to Prjevalsk the inhabitants of the hamlets of Meshchansk, Krasnoiarsk, Novokievsk, and of the colony of Ohotnichi.

All the refugees found shelter in the town. On 16th August a detachment of mounted troops under the Uralian Ouchinnikof was sent to rescue the inhabitants of Sazanovka, where, during six days, the peasants and the soldiers of Cornet Pokrovski had been resisting the Kirghiz. Pokrovski and Ouchinnikof brought the inhabitants of Sazanovka, Semenovka, Gregorevka, and Kamenka in safety to Preobrajensk.

On the 19th or 20th, the sotnia of Cornet Ugreninof entered Prjevalsk.

Things had recently quieted down. The Kirghiz had begun to leave for Syr-Daria.

On 28th August, Berg routed a band, destroying 800 desperate fighters, and dispossessed them of a huge quantity of cattle and sheep. According to a statement made by the prisoners taken from the insurgents, *the latter were led by a Turkish General and two EUROPEANS.* According to the assertions of the prisoners, the General and the UNKNOWN FOREIGNERS had taken part in the battle on the Kastek. The same Berg and the Engineer Golovin were sent on two other expeditions, which, moreover, met with complete success.

On 27th August, the detachment of Sotnik Volkof entered Prjevalsk.

On 1st September, the detachment of Bychkof (Voiskovoi Starshina) entered Prjevalsk in safety. Instead of crossing by the Aksuiski Pass, where the heat had made huge crevasses in the glaciers, the detachment was obliged to cross the mountains at the station of Choktal by a goat-track; nevertheless, they covered the distance in 7 days (from Verni to Prjevalsk). They saw many victims of the rising. The telegraph was completely destroyed, but in the monastery the churches, the dwelling-places, and the defences were intact. Bychkof and his men picked up on the way, and brought to Preobrajensk, 4 men, 10 women and girls, and 50 children.

Judging by Colonel Ivanof's supplementary report, the garrison had to work hard. On 13th August he summoned a special council of war, consisting of Generals (retired) Korolkof and Narbut, General Krasnoslobodski, and a number of officers and doctors. This council distributed the refugees, saw to the defences of the town and its

surroundings, conducted requisitions, and devised military measures. The engineers and officials among the newcomers took part in the council.

On 3rd September, the Voiskovoi Starshina Bychkof, with the detachment of Sotnik Volkof, was ordered to set out for the Syrtz to destroy the insurgents who were withdrawing. According to the report of Colonel Ivanof, the crops were neither burnt nor trodden down. This being the case, the peasants would be sent back to their villages, on the first peaceful opportunity, to gather in the crops. (No. 201.)

The village of Stolypino (Kochorka, "*circonscription*" boundary of Narynsk) was the first victim of the rebellious Kara-Kirghiz of the neighbouring communes. On 8th August it was surrounded by the Kirghiz; the peasants defended themselves for two days until they were relieved by a small detachment of troops from Naryn. The Kirghiz, however, continued the siege and set fire to the village: the bazaar, the prayer-house, and other buildings were burnt. The detachment decided to make for Tokmak, taking all the villagers with them. From Rybach onwards the detachment was continually attacked, especially while crossing the narrow ravine of Boamsk. All the stations and bridges were burnt, and the telegraph line was destroyed. The Kirghiz kept up a fairly accurate fire on the detachment from the overhanging rocks and hill-tops. The "*Intendance*" bridge over the river Chu near Kok-Mainak was burnt, so that the stream of refugees was obliged to ford the deep and rapid river under fire. About 10 women and children were drowned here. The Kirghiz rolled down stones on to the road to stop the troops. According to eye-witnesses' accounts, the attack was fiercest at the Seménovsk bridge, where the Kirghiz fired fusillades at the troops and fugitives. A great number of horses were killed, and about 40 carts abandoned on the road. The sick and wounded from the village of Bystroretsk (about 8 in number) were sent to Tokmak, but the refugees went on to Kara-Bulak (Mikhailovsk), where they were soon joined by the peasants from the villages of Orlovsk, Belopiketsk, and Bystrorechensk. The villagers of Novorossisk (in the Bolshaia Keben) were particularly heroic. They organized a kind of fortification in the middle of the village, and held out for 12 days against the Kirghiz-Sarybagish, the chief leaders of the revolt, by whom they were surrounded. All the streets in the village of Novorossisk leading towards the peasants' fortifications were strewn with Kirghiz corpses. The peasants of Novor . . . are at present at Samsonovskaia station, where they have been treated liberally. (No. 204.)

The Prjevalsk and Karkarinsk Kara-Kirghiz have concentrated on

the Tekes and the Siumb. The Chinese Kalmuks had received bribes from them, but the regular Chinese troops refused to let the insurgents pass. A division is now taking place among the latter, part having decided to throw themselves on the mercy of the Russian Government. The communes plunder each other mutually, and the situation of the insurgents bids fair to become very serious in the future.

The Kara-Kirghiz of the south bank of the Issyk-Kul and a portion of the Pishpensk intend apparently to escape over the frontier to Aksu, but the Chinese troops have set out from Uch-Turfan to meet them.

All the most turbulent elements of the different communes of the districts of Vernensk and Pishpensk have assembled at Balkhash.

The peaceful Kirghiz at first gave them all the help they could, but now strife has also arisen at Balkhash. There is no bread to be had, and the rebels are living on mutton and berries. (No. 207.)

The telegraph to Prjevalsk was restored on the 15th September. The line to Naryn will soon be restored.

The insurgents from Kochorka have left, having been dispersed by the troops; part have gone to the Ulakhol towards the south bank of the Issyk-Kul, and part to the Jungal. They were there encountered by fresh troops.

In the district of Prjevalsk many Russian prisoners were set free. The latter state that the insurgents are in a great state of discouragement, and the irreproachable attitude of the Chinese Government causes them particular apprehension. They hoped they would be welcomed with open arms, as they had been *assured by agitators* that there would soon be war between China and Russia. Nevertheless, the Chinese sent forward troops and received the insurgents with artillery fire.

The provincial administration has just come to a very important conclusion, concerning the revolt of the Kara-Kirghiz. As a result of the report of the district administration and the military leaders, the head military Governor decides that the conduct of the rebels of the districts of Pishpensk and Prjevalsk affords no hope for the future that Russians and Kara-Kirghiz can live on good terms in the same region. The behaviour of the insurgents has always been outrageous, and the Russian population has suffered far too much at their hands for them to continue as neighbours. As a proof of this there is the fact (according to the data given by the refugee organization) that the number of victims in the sector of Issyk-Kul is over 3,000, of whom there are about 2,000 killed, and more than 1,000 missing.

Certain measures have, of course, been already adopted as reprisals against the insurgents. Many thousands of Kirghiz have been killed by the troops. Their camps are being destroyed, and an enormous number of their flocks are already in the hands of the army and administration. Punitive troops are in hot pursuit of the rebels, inflicting fresh losses upon them and setting free many prisoners. But this is not all: the principal result of the combined operations of the troops is that all the rebels are now driven into such mountainous regions that they will soon feel the full effects of their foolish revolt, owing to hunger and cold. Information is already coming in as to their privations, the sickness that is rife among them, and their utter confusion. The troops have been ordered to give no quarter to the enemy. A part of the rebels may perhaps make their way into China, but the Chinese authorities will not admit them all. The insurgents know well that it is useless for them to seek to make peace at present. They will receive no mercy. Sooner or later, time will oblige them to repent and accept any conditions that may be imposed upon them. Then, and then only, may their voices be heard by the authorities.

The basis for future discussion with the Kara-Kirghiz will be clearly of a special nature.

In the first place, it is recognized as absolutely inadmissible that the Kara-Kirghiz should return to the Keben valley and the east part of the Chuiskaia valley around Tokmak.

Secondly, it is recognized that the banks of the Issyk-Kul should be cleansed of the Kara-Kirghiz for ever.

Thirdly, it is recognized that the valley of the Tekes should become a region exclusively Russian.

Every rebel community of the places already mentioned, whatever its size may prove to be, is to be relegated to the mountainous tract in the southern half of the district of Prjevalsk, to the region of Lake Son-Kul, and to the boundary of Atbashinsk. The status of these communities is to be that of purely pastoral people.

A new form of government has to be organized for them. The military will be stationed at a series of newly-fortified points, and will support the government.

All these projects were submitted in general terms by special telegram to the General Governor in chief of the region. General Adjutant Kuropatkin recently confirmed in principle the views of the administration of Semirechie, giving instructions to elaborate the said schemes in detail, with plans, maps, and statistics. (No. 216.)'

JOURNAL, 28th October, 1916.

CONFISCATION OF LAND IN TURKESTAN

'In the daily report of General Governor General-Adjutant A. N. Kuropatkin, published in the 185th Number of *Turkestanskia Viedomosti*, it is stated that: "Land on which murders of Russian people had been committed in Turkestan would be confiscated by the Crown."

The following plots are confiscated:—

800 *desiatin* of ground having native inhabitants, and belonging to the town of Djizak, on the estate of Samarkangsk, situated along the high road.

400 *desiatin* of the village and of the country estate of Zaamin, in the district of Djizak.

200 *desiatin* of the village and of the estate of Ragejru in the same district.

400 *desiatin* of the village and of the estate of Haukeut Bazar, where twelve assessors were killed. They were making notes in connexion with the rural government in July.

The following are also confiscated by the State:—

100 *desiatin* from the village and estate of Rohlai.

100 *desiatin* of the village and of the estate of Sosuk, and

100 *desiatin* of the village of Taugi, where Surbirzef, the head official (*chef de bureau*) was murdered.

In this manner the quantity of land confiscated amounts to 2,100 *desiatin*.

The General Governor allows the native inhabitants of these plots of ground to gather in the produce of their sowing, and all their other belongings excepting plantations of timber, which must go to the State together with the land.

The destroyed homes of the natives will be repaired, and so that this piece of work should be well done, permission has been granted to send for some prisoners of war if necessary, men who have been sent away for work and who are under the administration of the agricultural and governmental properties departments.

Permission has also been given to claim direct from the forests administration the right to get timber for carpenters and joiners.

The sum of 2,000 roubles is allotted for the expenses of rebuilding the homes and for the relief of the poorest of the native inhabitants.'

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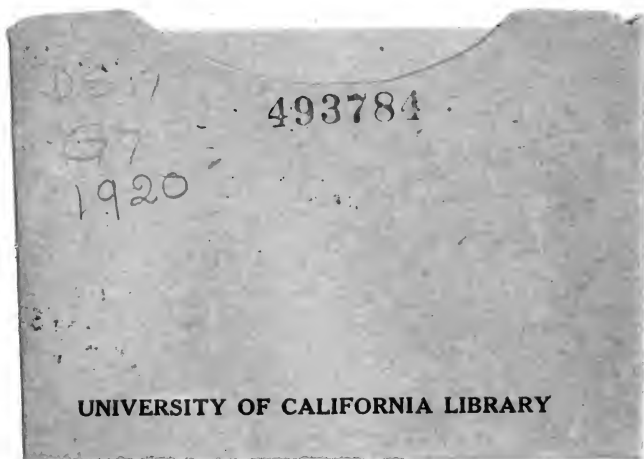
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